

IN THESE TIMES

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Tony Benn and
the Labour left

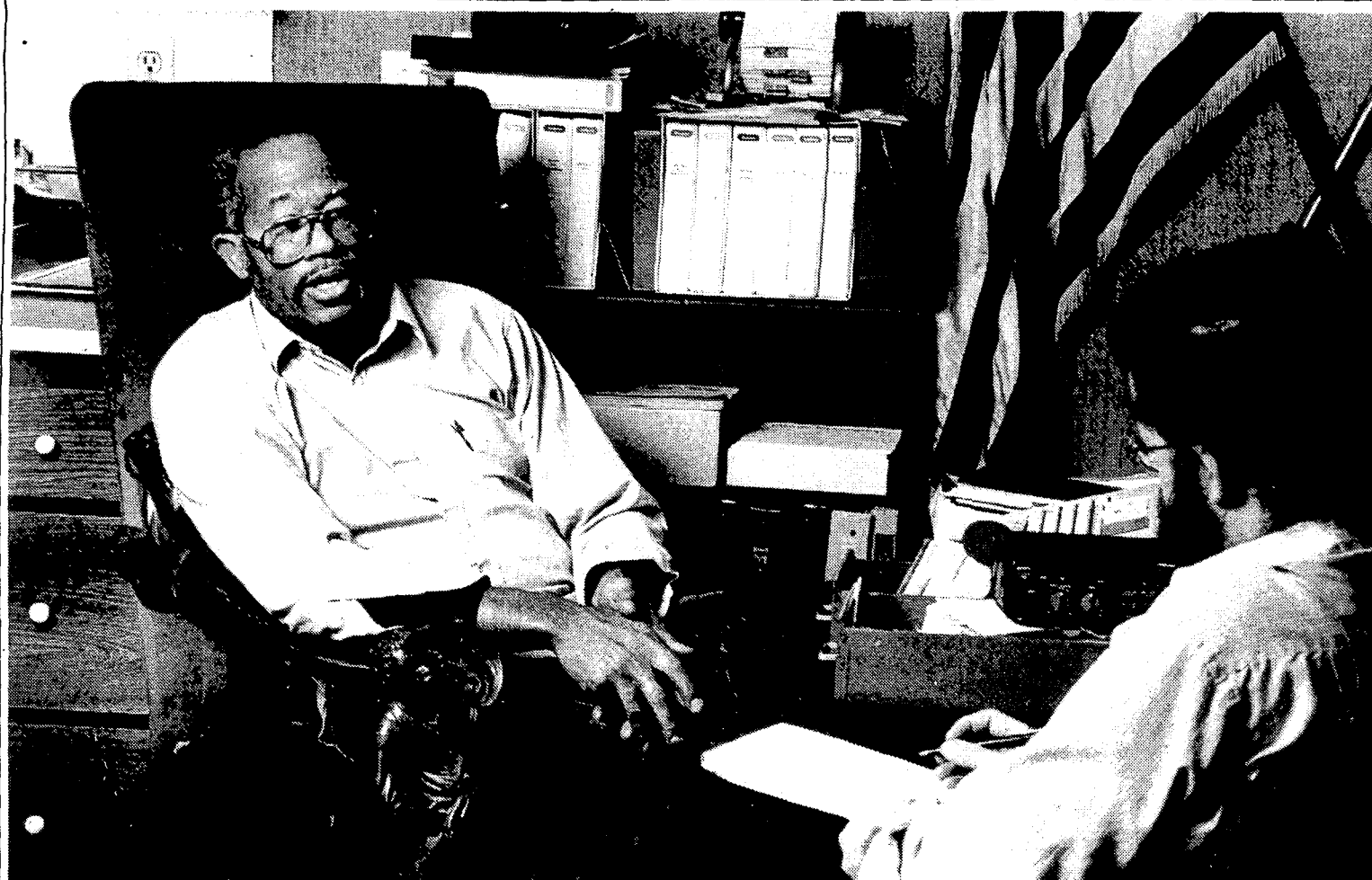
pages 12 and 16

**BOGGED
DOWN
IN**

Beirut

David Mandel on Israel's dilemma
page 3

A way out of the Middle East
page 14



Eldridge Cleaver (above) says Rep. Dellums is "systematically championing anti-American causes."

Cleaver chases Dellums' seat

By Paul Rauber

BERKELEY, CA.

This city's reputation as one of the most progressive and politically sophisticated communities in the country often proves to be more of a curse than a blessing. In recent months the good-humored jokes about the "People's Republic of Berkeley" have gone sour. The city of 103,000 (about the size of Grenada, it is often pointed out) is now being seriously attacked as a center for Marxist-Leninist subversion.

Born-again Christian Eldridge Cleaver is leading the new red-baiting campaign that grew out of a controversy over whether or not Berkeley would open its council meetings with the pledge of allegiance. The charges are directed not only against the Berkeley City Council and Mayor Gus Newport, but Rep. Ron Dellums as well, whose 8th District congressional seat is now coveted by Cleaver.

In his campaign material, Cleaver leaves no doubt about Berkeley's role in the world-wide Communist conspiracy: "A freedom fighter from Nicaragua who is fighting to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista dictatorship startled me with the statement that those fighting to establish democracy in Nicaragua see

unconstitutional back in 1972. His efforts, though unsuccessful, were not in vain: he received a note congratulating him for his patriotism from President Reagan.

The cudgel was then taken up by Leo Bach, the most right-wing member of the moderate/conservative All Berkeley Coalition (ABC), which still dominates the Berkeley City Council. Bach challenged the council to show that it still honored the flag by reinstating the Pledge of Allegiance to the beginning of each council meeting.

Bach's motion reawakened political dogs that had been sleeping for 12 years. Back in 1971, three newly elected council members refused to stand for the pledge as a protest against the Vietnam war. The protest became front-page news in the *New York Times*, and in the resultant turmoil conservatives joined radicals in voting to discontinue the pledge—if only to stop the publicity.

Last December Bach's ABC political ally and Vice-Mayor Gilda Feller waved a copy of the 1971 *New York Times* picture as she explained why she would not vote for reinstatement of the pledge. Feller said she feared it would only lead to further mocking stories in the national media about "fun and games down in Nutsville" should members of the left Berkeley Citizens Action (BCA) wing of the council refuse to stand for the salute again. The BCA council members steered clear of the debate, content to let the ABC tear itself apart. Bach's motion was rejected.

Retribution was not long in following as the issue developed an artificial life of its own. The Alameda County Board of Supervisors, at Charles Santana's urging, voted to kick Berkeley off the board that oversees the distribution of federal job training funds, \$660,000 of which was earmarked for the city. The Alameda County Training and Employment Board (ACTEB) concurred. The city is now threatening to sue to block job-training funds to the entire county unless California Governor George Deukmejian authorizes Berkeley to administer its own money.

Curiously, ACTEB itself never bothered opening its meetings with the pledge, at least not until the meeting where it took action to punish Berkeley. Even as it became clear that denying Berkeley a seat on ACTEB is a violation of federal law, other instances of unpatriotic activities were being ferreted out.

Patriotic exercise.

Attention next shifted to the Berkeley city schools. Bach and his political allies discovered several schools that had no flagpoles in front of them, much less flags. They pointed out an obscure section of the state education code that said that each school has to fly the flag. Moreover, there must be a small flag in each classroom, and each school day must open with the pledge of allegiance or an "appropriate patriotic exercise."

The result was the Berkeley's financially strapped school district was forced to lay out \$5,000 for two flagpoles, and reporters quizzed schoolchildren to see if they knew the words to the pledge or could sing "The Star-Spangled Banner." The BCA-dominated school board voted to make flag procurement their lowest priority, but private donations flowed in so the school children would have something to salute during their daily patriotic calisthenics.

With the Alameda County Board of Supervisors in trouble over their illegal exclusion of Berkeley, and Leo Bach ever more isolated on the council, help for the next step in the ideological battle appeared from an unexpected quarter. In January, former Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver declared his candidacy for Dellums' seat. Cleaver's campaign material makes it clear that he intends to red-bait Dellums in a way Dellums has never been red-baited before. Among other sins, Dellums is accused of being "a pliable tool in the hands of the Marxist-Leninist puppet masters of Berkeley, which has become an ideological cesspool of anti-American intrigue, where even the City Council refuses to pledge allegiance to the American flag."

It is too early to tell if Cleaver will be able to mount a serious campaign. He has no popular base, but claims he will draw votes

Continued on page 8

THE INSIDERY

themselves as fighting against Managua, Havana, Moscow and Berkeley."

Dellums, one of the mainstays of the Congressional Black Caucus, foreign-policy advisor to the Jesse Jackson campaign and seven-term Oakland-Berkeley representative, is charged by Cleaver with "systematically championing anti-American causes." Dellums' seat is considered relatively safe (he has turned back the past two challengers by 56 percent margins), but Cleaver's charges are serving to further poison the already foul political waters in the East Bay area. His campaign is appealing to the same patriotic impulse that led many Americans to support the Grenada invasion, an invasion fiercely opposed by Dellums. Cleaver's flag waving is also well timed: the American flag is now the hottest political topic in Berkeley.

The bizarre chain of events started last October, when Alameda County Supervisor Charles Santana was vacationing with his wife in Puerto Rico. Elsewhere in the Caribbean, American troops were rescuing Grenada from itself. In Berkeley, a crowd of 4,000 took to the streets.

Santana was enraged by a picture the next day in the *New York Daily News* showing some teenagers in the demonstration burning an American flag. When he returned to the Bay Area, he tried to prosecute the teenagers under a federal law that had been ruled

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IN THESE TIMES

Israeli policy in Lebanon is coming apart at the seams

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

AS THE BATTLE FOR CONTROL of Lebanon rages on, this month's developments point to two possible outcomes of U.S.-Israel involvement there. First, that they will recognize the failure of their Lebanon policy, which may signal an end to the close co-operation of recent weeks between Washington and Jerusalem. Second, that a new round of fighting will be waged in a last-ditch attempt both to salvage each country's heavy political investment in Lebanon and to avoid the ignominy of defeat.

In withdrawing the Marines from Beirut, the Reagan administration was responding to public opinion in an election year and admitting that without greatly increased military support, the regime of Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel could not stand up to the Syrian-backed opposition that as *In These Times* went to press seemed on the verge of cutting Beirut off from the Israeli-occupied south. The rebels are demanding Gemayel's unconditional resignation, rejecting even his apparent offer to scrap last year's treaty with Israel—already a dead letter—on security in the south.

A similar conclusion was reached by the Israeli government last summer, when in response to public opinion at home it sought to cut its losses in central Lebanon. Israel appeared reconciled to the continued existence of the Syrian sphere of influence in the country and determined to solidify its holdings in the south. But the partial withdrawal in September was opposed by the U.S., which said it would harm efforts to shore up Gemayel and undermine at-

original plan approved by then Secretary of State Alexander Haig (or the Israeli cabinet, for that matter) and by the following year, Washington preferred instead to push for a Lebanese-Israeli agreement on withdrawal, signed shortly afterward on May 17, 1983, as a means of both isolating Syria and forcing it to pledge withdrawal.

At that time Gemayel played along, hoping that his regime's relatively strong military position would enable it to help Syria save face by eventually renouncing its treaty with Israel in exchange for a commitment by the Syrians to go home. And such a scenario would have been no less effective in forcing Israel out, if and when that became desirable.

The short-sighted obsession.

But in only a few short months Syria was able to call the bluff. Re-armed to the teeth, it could afford to sit tight and calmly sponsor opposition forces in Lebanon, which regrouped and resurfaced in reaction to Gemayel's failure to effect any of the power-sharing reforms necessary to achieve national reconciliation. The country's civil war picked up where it had left off when Israel overturned the playing board. U.S. Marines—who had originally landed as part of a multi-national force meant primarily to protect Palestinian civilians from the Gemayel Phalangists—suddenly found themselves propelled by Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet obsession into an active role. Since last fall they and the U.S. warships off the coast have fought *with* the Phalangists and what remained of the Lebanese government, and *against* whomever was seen as backed by Damascus, and thus Moscow. Now the Marines are leaving—their numbers were too few—but the obsession and the warships remain, and stepped-up bombardment after the pull-out announcement demonstrated that the last military stance has not yet been taken.

Meanwhile, Israel has really wanted since last summer to get out of the path of the renewed civil war, which has turned many of its soldiers into draft evaders and even resisters. Jerusalem had badly underestimated the strength of the Lebanese nationalist-left forces and their popular support among the country's underprivileged groups—primarily Druze and Shi'ite Moslems. But once it was clear that the Gemayel government would be unable to assert its control in the south, it was decided that the buffer zone would be "secured" either by subservient local militias or, if necessary, by Israel itself.

Accordingly, Israel has tried to consolidate its rule from the border up to either the Litani or the Zaharani rivers,

the present line that still includes the city of Sidon. But here, too, the efforts have been unsuccessful.

Israel had been politically constrained by the May 17 Accord, under which the Lebanese army was to take over the region and, with limited Israeli help, keep the Palestinian guerrillas out. Thus it could neither foster relations with local leaders based on the expectation of long-term occupation—as has occurred in the territories held by Israel since 1967—nor could it wholeheartedly sponsor collaborationist military units to take control instead of the official government forces.

Also, the inevitable dynamic of

military occupation has gradually transformed the population's attitude. What was once an apathetic population—induced by years of heavy-handed Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) domination and by Israeli retaliatory raids—is now openly hostile, especially because the central Druze and Shi'ite leadership are at the head of the renewed resistance to Gemayel and the Americans. Most of the south's population is from among these groups, and the stinging war of attrition against Israeli soldiers in the region has been carried out mostly by such local residents, not Palestinian infiltrators.

Two recent events have further compounded Israel's predicament. Stunning advances by the Lebanese opposition around Beirut have foreclosed any remaining hope that the southern population would remain neutral, if not friendly. And the death of Christian militia leader Sa'ad Haddad, a valuable collaborator in the border region since 1977, has cast doubt over the future of

Continued on page 8

Israel and the U.S. seem destined to part ways in Lebanon.

tempts to force Syria to live with some of the changes wrought in the wake of Israel's 1982 invasion. Israel then argued that only a massive sustained attack on Syria—in other words, a war to drive it out of Lebanon—would accomplish that goal.

Both sides were right. Gemayel was weakened by the Israeli pullback and has been faltering ever since under patiently applied pressure from Syria and the Lebanese rebels.

The only alternative to Gemayel's fall is the war option, and unconfirmed reports from the feverish consultations held in Washington and Jerusalem in mid-February hold that Israel is proposing a massive joint attack on Syria.

Israel sought to engage Syria in such a confrontation on two occasions in the past: first, with the momentum of the June 1982 invasion, before Syria rushed to accept a cease-fire, and second, in spring 1983, when the military situation and negotiations on withdrawal with the Lebanese government became bogged down in unfavorable stalemates and the Israeli public began to tire of prolonged involvement. In both cases, firm U.S. vetoes held Israel back. Full-scale war on Syria was apparently not part of the

They're still shelling Israel

On February 9, two katyusha rockets fell near Metulla, in northern Israel, fired from somewhere across the nearby border in southern Lebanon. No one was injured and there was little damage, but the event symbolized the near total collapse of even the minimum war aim espoused by the Menachem Begin-Ariel Sharon government when "Operation Peace for Galilee" was launched 20 months before: to push Palestinian guns out of range.

There have been eight minor inci-



A U.S. Marine in Lebanon crouches behind a car after his patrol was attacked while patrolling the coastal highway south of Beirut.

dents of this type since the massive two-day barrage of katyushas (following Israel's aerial bombardment of Palestinian camps throughout Lebanon as far north as Beirut) that preceded the June 1982 invasion. Apparently, even direct occupation cannot prevent all such attempts, which military spokespersons were quick to confirm after the latest one while at the same time they obliquely criticized politicians who sometimes forget and brag about how the war has eliminated the threat.

Yet such boasts are still made, most recently by Sharon himself, on a *Meet-the-Press* style television interview the evening before the two rockets were fired. Questioned hard about disclosures in two new books by senior Israeli journalists—which claimed he lied to

the cabinet about the war's objectives during its first week—the former defense minister groped for safer ground: "We made it possible to hike in Galilee again," he parried, and turned his standard venom on the opposition parties, which he accused of wanting to restore the pre-war situation.

Sharon did not recall, of course, that during the 10 and a half months before the warplanes struck on June 4, 1982, a cease-fire along the Israel-Lebanon border was observed scrupulously by the PLO. Not a single rocket hit Galilee then and, according to one of the new books, Sharon himself turned down a PLO offer shortly before the war to completely remove the launchers from the region in exchange for a broader agreement. —D.M.

IN SHORT

Majority woo

The race for the Massachusetts Senate seat soon to be vacated by Paul Tsongas gained momentum as Rep. James Shannon made a bid for the women's vote in his early February announcement speech. Stressing that he views "equal opportunity as economic opportunity," Shannon also went on to defend abortion rights—an issue that may wrangle votes away from the otherwise outstanding Rep. Ed Markey, whose strength lies in nuclear issues, not reproductive ones.

Incommunicado

What's been called the Trident submarine's "first-strike trigger" may be temporarily jammed. Construction on Project ELF, an elaborate communications system that would enable the Navy to launch speedier attacks from their Trident subs, has been halted by a Wisconsin federal district judge until a new Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) can be written. The current EIS was written in 1977, a few years before scientists had studied the effects of extremely low frequency radio waves (the kind ELF emits in abundance) on humans. The current EIS was based on Navy studies. And although there were findings deemed "incidental," like shrinking and growing mice, the waves were judged not harmful to people.

But since then, notes Jenny Speicher of Stop Project ELF, several human studies have caused many concerned Wisconsin and Michigan residents (including the governor of Wisconsin) to be duly alarmed. Birth defects, leukemia and suicide rates show a steady increase in areas where strong doses of extremely low frequency waves are already present. And because ELF is designed to transmit around the world—and get those subs as close to the USSR as they'll go—ELF waves won't dissipate across the miles.

ELF has been under attack since it began construction: the General Accounting Office calls it wasteful spending, some military personnel will admit that the subs are already invulnerable to attack so that the communications system is needed only to shore up first-strike power, and the virtually unprotected location of the transmitter makes nearby residents sitting ducks. The injunction is expected to set back ELF for at least six months, but no one expects the Reagan-backed project to die easily. The Woman's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF is still moving full steam ahead to pitch tents and protests near the ELF wires in May.

Upscale revolution

Young urban professionals, or Yuppies, as they're sometimes affectionately called, are finding new lands where they can test their professional skills these days. Granted it's a limited migration, but one that would challenge the theoretical prowess of a Frederick Jackson Turner: U.S. architects, agronomists, artists and business owners are moving to Nicaragua to explore their creative potential while helping dig trenches for the rumored invasion from their fellow countrymen.

Never a group to miss an interesting trend, DeeDee Halleck, Skip Blumberg and a goodly portion of the New York independent video community have captured the new frontierspeople on a 17-minute video. Highlights include a 1983 Jaycee Man of the Year sporting his Jaycee T-shirt during a demonstration outside the U.S. embassy in Managua. "It's against U.S. principles to support the *contras*," he asserts. Later, in a more relaxed pose at a nearby bar, the California businessman is quaffing a beer and espousing revolutionary rhetoric: "You can enjoy your life here while you're making money." Besides the better balance between business and pleasure, Nicaragua was also the only Central American country to actually have an increased GNP last year—up 4 percent. But no U.S. leeches these—the Nicaraguans welcome their much-needed technical expertise (and manual labor) in a still-wounded country.

The video will be shown on 80 stations across the U.S. as part of the weekly *Presente* show in early March, and later will be sold to PBS.

Sunnier crimes

And in a travel panegyric to another tropical neighbor to the south that cropped up in a recent edition of the *New York Times*, Grenada is the place to be. But you won't find any "hail the revolutions" in this one. In fact, it's the demise of the revolution that leads U.S. Ambassador Gillespie to confidently assert that "this is a society that is coming back"—the big cruise ships will soon be docking again on the glorious jewel-like beaches. There's even speculation that what author Barbara Gelb delicately calls "Grenada's recent upheaval"—which is called "the killing" by Caribbeans—will actually beef up tourism: "Anyone with a sense of adventure who wants to combine a Caribbean interlude with a tour of freshly made history will find a visit to Grenada exhilarating." Unfortunately, people aren't entirely convinced that the situation is ripe for a carefree vacation. Says Gelb, "A few stray Cuban husbands are less worrisome than are the undetermined number of young Marxist-indoctrinated Grenadians who are unable to find work" and presumably don't have the good graces to fade away for their beach-enthralled neighbors to the north, or even for the good of their own country's coffers.

—Beth Maschinot



Miles DeCoster

NPR airs botched business in House

WASHINGTON—The House Energy and Commerce Committee finally ran down the curtain on the National Public Radio (NPR) budget saga last week, after flinging a few last rotten tomatoes at the former NPR management that had precipitated a \$6.5 million deficit for the network in FY 1983.

Committee Chairman John Dingell (D-Mich.) kicked off the grueling six-hour hearing with his observation that "allegations of NPR's gross mismanagement were followed by charges of potential wholesale credit-card abuse, diversions of withholding taxes, personal use of corporate property, an interest free loan and a new car provided for the president, potentially illegal contracts, officers purchasing home computers and diamond rings on their lunch hours on their NPR American Express Cards, across-the-board pay raises in the midst of the financial crisis."

As bad as all that sounds, representatives of the General Accounting Office (GAO), assigned the task of investigating NPR, told Dingell they found "no instances of unlawful expenditures," no "active misrepresentation" and no "financial improprieties." Instead, what the GAO found was a hopelessly botched financial management and accounting system and an abundance of poor judgment on the part of NPR's managers.

The decisions of NPR's top managers were based on "incomplete or inaccurate information,"

observed the GAO. The result was "lack of coordination in the implementation of decisions, lack of monitoring of actions taken and confusion regarding the authority of key members of management." For example, one quarter (or nearly 100) of NPR employees were issued American Express cards that were poorly monitored and sometimes used for personal purchases. Some \$10,000 in credit card charges out of \$450,000 charged last year may have been illegitimate, the GAO estimates.

According to the GAO, "NPR did not have a functioning financial management system to monitor actual operations and compare them to the budget." As a result, NPR never adjusted its level of spending when it began to fall short of fundraising goals. By the end of FY 1983, NPR took in only \$3.4 million in grants out of a projected \$7.2 million.

Moreover, NPR "had not properly prepared for and, in fact, failed in its ambitious plan known as 'Project Independence,'" said the GAO. Project Independence was supposed to free the network from the need for federal dollars by earning big profits off of NPR's satellite distribution system. Instead, Project Independence diverted the attention of top management and drained cash reserves.

Former NPR President Frank Mankiewicz told Dingell in his testimony that four elements compounded NPR's fiscal woes:

the length and depth of the national economic recession that operated "as a brake on private investment and private contributions" and caused a drop in local and state funding to NPR member stations; "the almost complete breakdown" of NPR's financial reporting system; insufficient financial personnel; and the lack of "a margin for error."

Current NPR President Douglas Bennett told Dingell that the NPR budget is now under control, it's staff trimmed to 303 from a high of 442 last year and a system created whereby "all inter-departmental activities are coordinated."

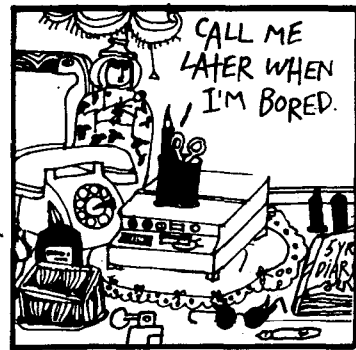
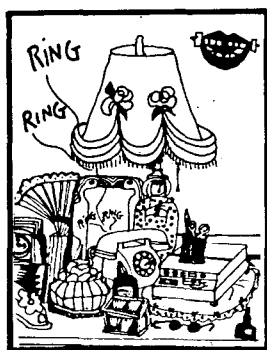
A restructuring that gives local stations more control may be in the cards for NPR.

Meanwhile, NPR Chairman Donald Mullally added that the public radio system has been considering a restructuring of NPR to give local stations more control over NPR's budget and decision-making process. The system will vote on permanent changes in NPR's structure in the spring.

Congress has closed the book on NPR's budget crisis, but the last chapter is still to come. More fingers may be tugging at the pursestrings of your favorite programs like *Morning Edition* or *All Things Considered*. Conformity is a frequent by-product of committee decisions. NPR's biggest task in 1984 is to ensure that you don't hear the difference.

—Brooke Gladstone

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

Coloradans contest MX

BOULDER, COLO.—In a mad rush to meet its 1986 schedule for deploying 100 MX missiles in aging Minuteman missile silos in Wyoming and Nebraska, the U.S. Air Force announced in late January the completion of its Environmental Impact Statement (EIS)—a report designed to assess the potential damage accompanying federal construction projects.

Now, according to Air Force officials, the military can begin issuing \$16.6 billion-worth of contracts for construction of the bases and development of the missiles.

Meanwhile, Western Solidarity, an eight-state coalition formed in 1982 to defeat the MX, greeted the Air Force's announcement with the charge that its hasty EIS violates the intent of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), which requires that the public be given adequate opportunity to comment on the draft EIS. When the draft EIS was released in mid-December, the Air Force set the period for public comment at 45 days. "That's the minimum period allowed, and yet this is one of the largest defense projects in our history," notes Andrew Reid, Western Solidarity's attorney.

By speeding through the EIS process of hearings and recommendations, the Reagan administration has bypassed citizen input and trampled upon states' rights, the non-partisan coalition charges. A lawsuit is possible.

In November, Colorado Gov. Dick Lamm and the state's con-

"scope" of the EIS must be determined at public hearings. She points out that at the hearings in the surrounding states last spring the Air Force refused to address certain public concerns, such as what would happen in the event of nuclear war. According to Lifsey, the Air Force had "already predetermined the scope" of the EIS.

At issue—aside from the arrival of thousands of unemployed workers and the impact they will have on local law-enforcement capabilities, public services and natural resources—is the safety of having "the most destructive weapon ever deployed by humans" in the area. Among other complaints, anti-MX activists say that the Air Force has failed to address the possibility of a transportation accident, an unintentional detonation or the psychological impact of the missiles' deployment.

Reid criticizes the Air Force for summarily dismissing the chance of an accidental detonation. While the Air Force admits such an accident is "not impossible," he says, it refuses to address the consequences in the EIS because it says the chance of an accidental detonation occurring is very remote.

Critics of probability theory like to point out that a 1977 EIS maintained that the "maximum-credible" transportation spill for uranium-ore concentrate was 6.5 pounds. Three weeks after the EIS was released, a spill on a Colorado highway dumped 42,000 pounds of the radioactive material.

Lt. Col. Walsh of the Air Force admits that the EIS does not include an analysis of the psychological effects of the MX deployment.



gressional delegation wrote to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger requesting that MX environmental impact hearings be held in Colorado. Hearings were held only in five counties in Nebraska and Wyoming.

Weinberger replied to Colorado lawmakers that the Air Force could not hold hearings in Colorado because any delay in the schedule would "preclude compliance...with timely Peacekeeper deployment."

In another attempt to railroad through the EIS, the Air Force made it difficult for interested persons, including expert witnesses, to get a copy of the draft EIS that was available only at state libraries. In some cases, says Evelyn Lifsey of Western Solidarity, "people had to drive 400 miles to read the 600-page EIS and '12-inches-thick' supporting technical documents."

By law, says Lifsey, the

People in this area have been living next to missiles for the past 20-odd years," he says. "We see no change in conditions from living with the Minuteman system—which is a strategic target for the Russians—than with the Peacekeeper."

Minimizing the effect of the MX on area residents, he says, "Just about everywhere in this country there are strategic targets for the Russians to aim at, so fear or concern should be uniform throughout the country."

Despite Western Solidarity's opposition to the MX, the Air Force will soon begin awarding contracts for the system. Construction will start this spring, with most finished by late fall. In 1986, the Air Force will remove Minuteman missiles from the silos, make silo alterations, such as replacing electronic equipment, and insert the MX.

—S.K. Levin

In a final triumph of power brokering, outgoing Brooklyn Democratic Party Chairman Meade Esposito last week installed a chosen successor—borough president Howard Golden—to the party leadership post, beating back challenges from candidates supported by some of the state's most influential politicians.

Surprisingly, the candidate supported by Mayor Koch placed only third in the balloting of 38 countywide district leaders. The mayor's choice was outdistanced by black Assemblyman Thomas Fortune, who was helped by Assemblyman Al Vann in a rare show of unity between regular and reform members of the party's minority

lost the 12th Congressional District to then-State Senator Major Owens, an outspoken reformer in the black community.

Some New Yorkers rushed to interpret Koch's failed opposition to Esposito's choice of Golden as a major blow to the mayor's power and prestige. The *Village Voice* took this position in its coverage of the succession fight. The appearance of Gov. Cuomo on the

an effective leader in the face of the inevitable comparisons to Esposito.

Local press coverage of the succession fight was generally superficial. Ironically, it was far less probing than what was given the publication of Mayor Koch's celebrated new book, *Mayor*—an outlandish exercise in high-level character assassination. The swift and behind-the-scenes manner in which Esposito executed the transition was

Briefing: Machine still rumbles in Brooklyn



After 14 years as the Brooklyn Democratic Party boss, Meade Esposito steps down.

contingent.

Widely considered the strongest of the nation's remaining old-line party bosses, Esposito had stepped down with only seven months left in the current two-year term of a post he held since 1970. At 77, the consummate ward heeler and insurance broker pleaded physical infirmity in his resignation announcement. But the widespread assumption was that he was reacting in large measure to ongoing criminal investigations by the FBI, the U.S. Attorney's office and the Brooklyn District Attorney. D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman came to office as a reformer vowing to challenge the impunity of Esposito's machine, and her first target, former State Senator Vander Beatty, received a four-year prison sentence for vote fraud, forgery and conspiracy within days of Esposito's resignation.

On the electoral front, too, Esposito's once ironclad control of Brooklyn politics has been somewhat shaken, particularly in the black districts of Central Brooklyn. There Vander Beatty

winners' side helped to bolster this view. But more common was the view—even among committed detractors of the current city administration—that Koch had invested little political capital in district leader Anthony Genovesi's candidacy, and that the loss was one of symbol rather than substance.

If something of lasting consequence did emerge from the week's events, it was the more general indication that factional in-fighting could hamper the party machine with an election year coming up; that minority interests were gaining strength within—as well as in opposition to—the clubhouse structure; and, significantly, that neither the federal investigators nor Brooklyn D.A. Holtzman seemed satisfied to have Vander Beatty be the lone fall guy for a legacy of corruption in Brooklyn Democratic politics.

Following his election, the newly-anointed party leader, Howard Golden, pledged to open up the workings of the party. But despite the rhetoric, he moved quickly to consolidate his hold and to prove himself

emblematic of the way he'd always run his affairs of business and government in an attempt to keep the party clubhouse system impregnable.

Now, however, Esposito's departure calls into question the continuing efficacy of that system, especially when taken together with events of the last year and a half:

- The wresting of considerable power from machine-aligned officials by the Coalition for Community Empowerment in black Brooklyn.

- The registration of tens of thousands of new minority voters.

- The continuing assault on corruption in the party from federal, state and local investigators.

- The residual damage to Koch, resulting from last year's unsuccessful bid for governor.

Of course, the party regular system still has working to its advantage a long history of resiliency. And the mayor has a million-dollar war chest as well as the unswerving loyalty of big real estate. —Michael Powell and Mitchell Torton

By David Moberg

IN THE NATION

Mineworkers plan contract strategy

COAL MINERS HAVE INVOKED an old maxim, "no contract no work," and endured long strikes with mixed results in each of their last two contract negotiations. Starting this month, United Mine Workers (UMW) officials are meeting with miners in each union district to prepare for a different strategy and, they hope, better contract to replace the one that expires at the end of September.

Richard Trumka, the 34-year-old president elected in 1982, set the tone at the December convention: "no backward steps, no takeover contracts." But delegates also authorized him to break with recent tradition and call out only some coal miners on strike. His strike decisions can be overruled only by a two-thirds vote—not the old majority—of the executive board. For the first time, the convention also approved assessment of payments into a strike fund that would be used only in selective strikes.

In the district meeting, union officials will solicit miners' suggestions for contract demands and for tactics that would pressure the companies. They will explain their new strategy and review the successes and failures of other unions—from the United Electrical Workers (UE) long, victorious battle at WABCO in Pittsburgh to the defeat of militant meatpackers at the Dakota City, Neb., plant of Iowa Beef.

With this extensive education and discussion, union leaders hope that they will be able to gain miners' support and to maintain discipline. That means stopping not only strikebreakers from crossing the picket lines but also wildcat strikers from throwing up their own pickets.

"Whatever option we decide on it will take the members' cooperation and their input, bringing them into the decision-making process," Trumka said recently in his Washington office. "As soon as things are explained, people will be with us. It's just smart for us to bring them in, explain things. I don't think the organization can work without it. They're able to help us fine-tune things."

But once the decision is made, Trumka wants to be able to act decisively—which is why he asked the convention to eliminate the bargaining council that in the past had to approve a tentative contract

before it went to the members. Preliminary bargaining will probably begin in April, he said, but much of the strategy will be unveiled at the last minute. "We want to sneak up on them," he said.

Although John L. Lewis led strikes that pulled out specific geographical areas or took workers out on strike, sent them back to work and brought them out again, Trumka is developing a strategy for a new era in coal that is designed to maximize union leverage with a minimum of worker loss. The union may focus on a particular company that has a heavy debt load. Or it might strike only the most profitable portion of some companies. Or it could take out only a key link—such as a processing plant that serves numerous mines. It might try stop-and-go strikes. And it could call a nationwide strike.

"From two options [strike or not], you

go to an infinite number of options," argues Joseph M. Jurczak, special assistant to Trumka. "The key to the selective strike is that operators understand that the strike can go indefinitely, that they can't cost it out"—that is, calculate how much a strike might cost them and how much they can save by holding out.

Coal plays a lesser energy role today than in Lewis' time. Also, only 40 percent of total coal tonnage is mined under the UMW contract (and a declining share—estimated at two-thirds—of even that is represented by members of the Bituminous Coal Operations Association, BCOA). So the union cannot virtually shut down the country as it was once able to do. More careful targeting may restore power.

Also, with the prohibition of providing food stamps to strikers, miners lost one means of survival during a long strike. The union has begun to build solidarity in anticipation of negotiations—a food bank for the roughly 55,000 miners out of 160,000 who have been unemployed recently, a campaign now getting underway to maintain strike discipline and develop the strike fund.

In past strikes, workers have saved in advance, planted big gardens or scraped by, often with aid from other unions. If some miners are still working while others are striking, they may decide to join in such support. And if companies respond to selective strikes by either locking out other employees—or if the BCOA decides to impose an industry-wide lockout—miners would be eligible for unemployment benefits and food stamps.

Such a lockout would also win the miners public support, and Trumka plans to fight a tough battle for such sympathy. "We can shift public sentiment around," he said, especially since productivity in the industry has outstripped wage gains in recent years despite depressed demand, overcapacity and unemployment. "We've had productivity increases that have been fairly dramatic," BCOA vice-president Morris Feibusch says.

If there is a coal strike, it will coincide with the last weeks of the presidential race. So coal negotiations take on a new political importance. But Trumka warns "if anybody looks to the negotiations to use miners as political pawns, their strategy is laden with pitfalls they're likely to fall into and be consumed by. They will have to decide whether doing certain things to us is worth the price they'd have to pay."

One report speculated that the industry might seek productivity gains in exchange for a modest 4 percent pay increase, but Feibusch insists the BCOA has no concrete plans, just "an overriding concern... to improve competitiveness of coal mined under the national labor agreement." If there are selective strikes, he said, "our negotiators have powers to take whatever action they deem necessary."

Feibusch acknowledges that Trumka is "clearly in charge of the union" and has drawn the line skillfully. He's come off looking very tough. He has an opportunity to come out breaking recent trends."

Indeed, Trumka, who argues that "no one has ever demonstrated to me that concessions in the steel industry ever saved jobs," feels that as a result of the UMW anti-concession stand, "we're going to have a positive effect on the labor movement."

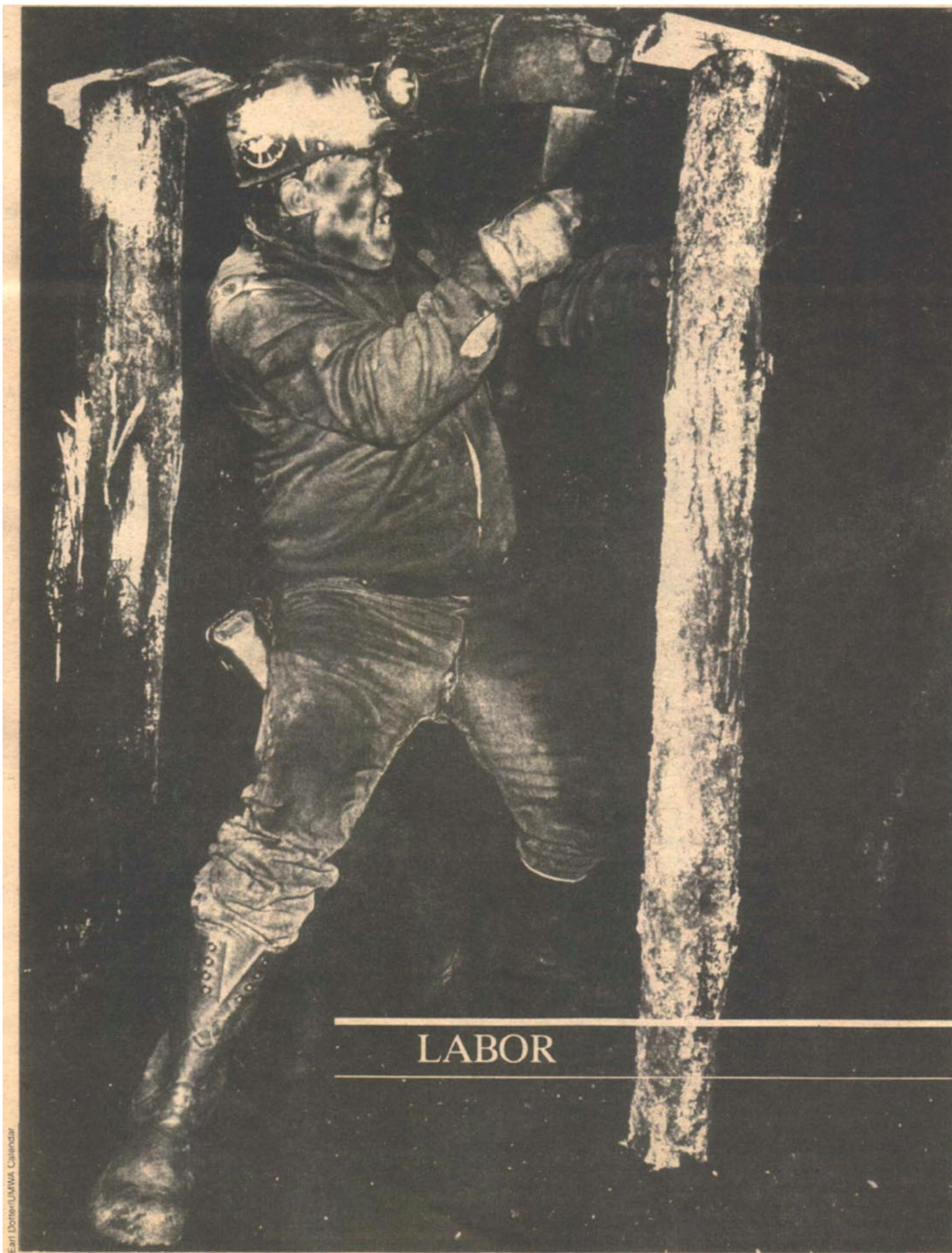
He warns the companies, "I would hope they have a better feel for the industry in light of recent events than to come to me and ask for concessions. If they do, we're in for an interesting set of negotiations."

1199 battle continues.

One of the more ticklish items scheduled for consideration by the AFL-CIO Executive Council when it convenes its winter session in Florida this week is the ongoing battle between the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees ("1199") and its parent union, the Retail, Wholesale and Distributive Workers Union (RWDSU) (*In These Times*, Nov. 16, 1983).

After resisting RWDSU President Alvin Heap's efforts to dismantle 1199, which has an unusual arrangement guar-

Continued on page 9



LABOR

ENVIRONMENT

The trials of toxics control

By Richard Asinof

PHILADELPHIA

DAVID MICHELMAN WAS INCENSED. For four years the 34-year-old Philadelphia assistant district attorney in charge of environmental enforcement had worked hard to convict hazardous waste haulers who had unlawfully dumped industrial wastes at the city-operated Fort Mifflin Landfill. He had won stiff jail sentences for most of these waste haulers, a difficult task given most judges' reluctance to send white-collar, first-time offenders to jail. Through his work, the city of Philadelphia had been able to recover almost \$7 million in restitution for environmental damages from the responsible companies.

But now, Michelman suspected, some of the convicted waste haulers were trying to weasel their way back into the hazardous waste business. Frank Pertnoy, former manager of Marvin Jonas, Inc., had been convicted of bribing the Fort Mifflin Landfill operators to allow his New Jersey-based company to unlawfully dump hazardous wastes there. At his sentencing hearing last March, Pertnoy's lawyer stated that his client would continue to work for the firm, now sold, as a "consultant."

To Michelman, it sounded fishy. Was the sale simply a way to enable Pertnoy to run the day-to-day operations of the company without having to report this to the state? Under New Jersey's strict environmental regulations, the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection (DEP), which regulates the transportation of hazardous waste, can deny a license to hazardous waste haulers whose "employees" have been convicted of environmental violations. Either there was a serious loophole in the regulations, or the "consulting" arrangement was a sham.

In April 1983, acting on his hunch, Michelman asked DEP to investigate. Sure enough, DEP's preliminary investigation uncovered not only that Pertnoy's new company was using the Jonas Company's former equipment and servicing his former customers, but also that Pertnoy was continuing to play an active role in arranging the transportation of hazardous wastes in New Jersey. State authorities are expected to take action against Pertnoy shortly, according to one source close to the investigation.

"State regulatory agencies should not be paper shufflers approving applications merely because all the blanks have been filled in and a check is attached," declared the mild-mannered yet hard-boiled prosecutor from his cramped cubbyhole of an office in downtown Philadelphia. License applications "should be aggressively screened," he said, and promptly revoked when a company is caught dumping illegally.

The Lightman Drum Company, he continued, was a case in point. The company had acquired a license from the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources to transport hazardous wastes even though it had already been convicted of illegal dumping. The company managed to maintain that license for more than a year even after they, too, were convicted of bribing the Fort Mifflin Landfill operators.

"It doesn't matter what laws you have on the books," Michelman said, "if you don't have people effectively enforcing them. People are going to think they can keep right on dumping and get away with it because either they're not going to get caught, or if they get caught, they're not going to be prosecuted, or if they are prosecuted, they won't get a meaningful and effective sentence."

There are any number of federal, state and local laws written to protect citi-

zens from illegal dumping of hazardous wastes. Under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), for instance, illegal dumpers can be brought up on federal felony charges for "knowing endangerment"—improperly handling hazardous waste so as to knowingly put people in danger—and sentenced to five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine (corporations can be fined up to \$1 million). Many states have similar laws modeled on RCRA that call for stiff penalties. But hazardous waste dumpers are rarely prosecuted under criminal laws.

Most hazardous waste violations are handled as civil proceedings, where penalties are assessed after years of cumbersome litigation. Individuals seeking restitution this way are more often frustrated than rewarded. And civil penalties are hardly a deterrent in an industry where fines are seen as a cost of doing business.

In 1981 the Environmental Protection

Agency (EPA) estimated that 90 percent of the 57 million metric tons of hazardous waste being produced each year was being disposed of improperly—dumped in on-site pits, ponds and lagoons, burned in unregulated industrial furnaces or injected directly into the ground. It's not just that it is difficult to catch illegal dumpers—rare is the instance when someone is caught red-handed dumping large amounts of a toxic chemical in a field on a moon-lit night. The smoking guns are often buried in sheafs of paperwork—truck invoices, shipping documents and manifests—that can be used to trace the rusting barrels dug out of a landfill to a chemical factory in a nearby state. This kind of detective work requires an expertise that most district attorney offices don't have. As one California county prosecutor said: "We're lawyers, not chemists."

Most police officers are not trained to

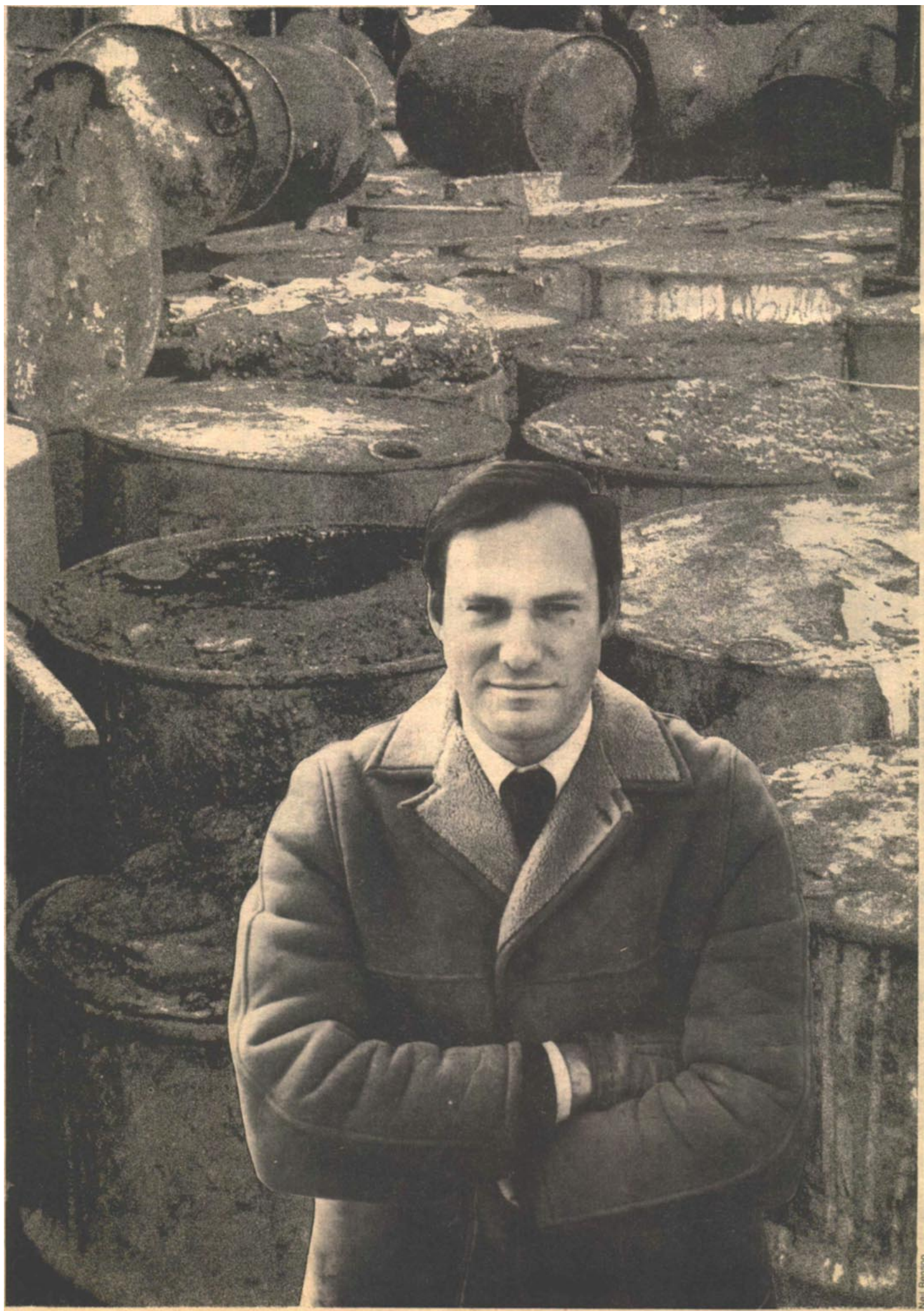
recognize violations of hazardous waste laws. EPA investigators who have such expertise can't carry guns or make formal arrests. One EPA investigator, for example, was forced to helplessly watch as a truck he was following leaked toxic polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) for 50 miles along a highway until a deputy sheriff arrived with authority to pull the truck over.

"The waste industry is probably one of the most violent industries," said Steven Madonna, New Jersey deputy attorney general, testifying before Congress on the need to grant EPA investigators police authority. "I would not under any circumstances direct investigators of mine to do investigations without being armed."

Often the companies responsible for dumping the wastes are mazes of disappearing corporate structures and shells, carefully disguised as legitimate businesses. One New Jersey hazardous waste transport firm, for example, upon being convicted of illegal dumping transferred most of its assets to a sister corporation to avoid anticipated court-imposed fines and restitution. Yet the same management under a new company name continued to service all its old customers. Like other white-collar criminals, the

Continued on page 22

Philadelphia D.A. Michelman (below) found that convicted waste haulers could weasel their way back into business.



Cleaver

Continued from page 2

from Democrats, Republicans and even Berkeley radicals who believe, as he does, that "Ron Dellums is acting in interests other than those of the U.S." Planning to raise \$450,000-500,000, Cleaver says he already has the provisional backing of some of the area's wealthy real-estate interests. As in past Cleaver campaigns, however, his sponsors remain nameless. The only organized support he has at this point is from the Unification Church of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

On February 4, Cleaver was the star attraction at a "Save the Flag Rally" in Berkeley. It was not organized by the Cleaver campaign but by CARP, the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles, the Moonies' student organization. Cleaver attacked Dellums and Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport as "Parrot Ron and Teddy Bear Gus," calling on the small crowd to "get rid of the Communists who sit on the City Council, this megaphone of a mayor and Ron Dellums, who is a parrot of the left."

A heckler accused Cleaver of using McCarthyite tactics. "Everything Joe McCarthy said wasn't wrong," Cleaver replied. "You just have to look in a mirror to see he wasn't all wrong."

Joining Cleaver in waving the plastic flags CARP distributed to the crowd were a representative of the Nicaraguan contra group FDN and an officer of an

organization called the "Coalition for a Free World" (see *In These Times*, Jan. 26, 1983), an omnibus umbrella for extreme right-wing refugee groups ranging from the *contras* to the Salvadoran FUPS (*Frente Unido Patriótico Salvadoreño*), the anti-Castro Cuban CID (*Cuba Independiente y Democrático*), Action for a Free Vietnam, an Afghan rebel group and, of course, CARP. Council member Bach and Supervisor Santana declined invitations to attend, claiming previous engagements.

A tactical union.

In an interview with *In These Times*, Cleaver denied being a Moonie. He is, he says, a member of the Mormon Church. He describes his connection with the Unification Church as tactical. "They came forward and supported me when I was arguing with these Communists about American patriotism." They've come forward in other ways too: Cleaver also has the editorial backing of the Rev. Moon's *Washington Times*.

Cleaver sees the struggle against Communism on four levels: military, political, economic and ideological. It's the ideology part he says he's worried about. "Ideologically, they're running circles around us," he says. "This is the Communists' long suit. From my own experience in checking out Congress, we have very few people there who have any kind of understanding of philosophy or ideology. This is somewhere I can be helpful, in bringing the longer view and a deeper understanding of what we're confronted with."

The Berkeley flag issue gives a preview

of the sort of ideological campaign the Bay Area can expect. Dellums has already made it clear that he will not respond to Cleaver's charges, maintaining the high road of speaking to the issues of the nuclear freeze, the bloated defense budget and the risk of U.S. intervention in Central America. The left BCA has no reason to speak out on an issue that is entirely its opposition's making, and that may be dashing the further electoral hopes of the moderate ABC. With four of the five ABC seats up for re-election this year, BCA stands a good chance of finally getting a solid left majority on the council.

Berkeley's flag flap can be seen as a small example of the new Cold War coming home to roost. The progress of the controversy is instructive. The first thing forgotten was the precipitating factor, Ronald Reagan's invasion of Grenada. From the outset, the right has been able to control the agenda and set the tone for news coverage of how Berkeley starts its council meetings. The pledge of allegiance has been portrayed as a loyalty oath, opposition to which must be construed as unpatriotic.

TV cameras now frequently come to cover the latest example of Berkeley's social heresy—cameras that never come out when the more substantive issues of rent control, urban development or economic planning are being discussed. The result is a public image of the city as a freak.

Ironically, the attempts of council moderates to forestall such coverage has only resulted in greater attention. ABC moderate Andrea Washburn voted against resuming the pledge for fear it would become "an occasion for an ideological circus." But events have shown that an ideological circus can be staged even without the consent of the performers. Ideological deviation sells papers.

As for Cleaver, his political career has now entered the realm of self-parody. In 1968, Cleaver wrote an essay called "An Aside to Ronald Reagan" in which he summarized the then-governor's political style: "Ronnie used a pat formula that said: pick the toughest problems confronting the people and launch blistering attacks upon all sincere efforts to come to grips with these problems; offer as an alternative a conglomeration of simple-minded clichés and catch phrases that go back to the Mayflower; sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and smile broadly, effusively as you wave the flag at the people."

Paul Rauber writes for the East Bay Express.

candid among Israel's pro-war leaders have stopped reiterating that total withdrawal should remain the goal. For example, Rafael Eitan, military chief of staff during the war's first year, said last week that permanent Israeli presence in southern Lebanon is as necessary to protect Galilee as is the 17-year-old rule of the Golan Heights to the east. Tens of thousands of Israeli settlers now dwell in the Golan which was annexed to Israel three years ago.

Fed by the war's obvious futility, there is considerable pressure among Israelis to bring the troops home, regardless of the consequences. In fact, a recent poll found 40 percent of Israelis favoring this position, with 27 percent more supporting total withdrawal under one of several conditions. The number of respondents who supported the war in its entirety was down to 31 percent from 70 percent in 1982. Clearly most of those who changed their views did so only because of the outcome, and if military "success" could be pulled out of the hat, the picture could quickly change back.

This is the danger of renewed aggression. Backed into their respective corners, neither Israel's leaders nor the Reagan administration relishes the thought of walking away in defeat. Even the fair-weather hawks of Israel's political center who now admit that the war should never have begun (they supported it back then) are wondering out loud whether just one more major effort—this time in open concert with the U.S.—might prevent an otherwise certain fiasco.

The opposition Labor party, for example, may well be having second thoughts now that its favored plan—speedy withdrawal and enhanced reliance on Haddad—has become inoperative. True, many Laborites expect the war's unpopularity to propel them back into power by next year, but inheriting a lost cause, plus the economic disaster it has wrought, would likely spell political trouble.

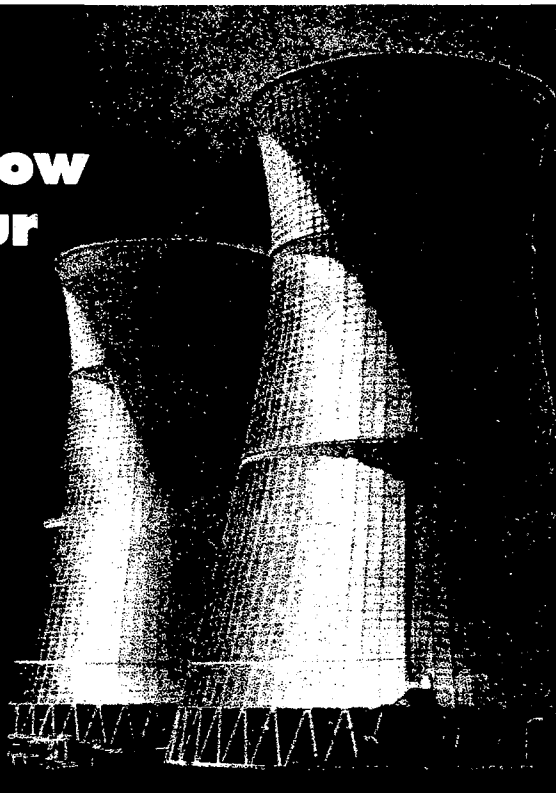
Pursuit of the war option by Israel and the U.S. would depend on a mutually acceptable formula for waging it. Presumably, Washington would be willing to foot the bill, but is probably hesitant to get involved in a major land campaign. Israel, on the other hand, can offer to do much of the "dirty work," but would demand more than mere verbal assurances that its own interests would be served as well—that in exchange for vital services in the north, the U.S. would continue to stonewall the Palestinians and allow Israel to proceed with its own agenda for the West Bank and Gaza strip.

The fact that Israel has managed to divert attention from these issues for the past two years remains the only real "success" of the Lebanon war. But last week Reagan met with Egyptian President Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein, both of whom urged the Americans to deal with Yassar Arafat's "more moderate than ever" PLO. Something may indeed be cooking—panicky objections by Israeli leaders to the latest "attempt to revive the Reagan plan" at the very least point to the difficulties of proposing joint action on one front without coordinating policy regionwide, and at the same time, may explain Israel's renewed interests in another war.

Despite certain ever-present strains, pursuit of common military goals in Lebanon has kept the Israel-U.S. relationship at an unprecedented height for the last two years. But unless both sides now agree on a formula for drastic escalation, they seem destined to part ways. The U.S. will seek more advantageous arenas for opposing Soviet influence, and Israel will go on battling the Palestinians any way it can.

But even if they do wage a major war on Syria, and manage to both win and avoid World War III, this question will remain: what then? Ultimately, the U.S. cannot build a Mideast policy around an alliance exclusively with Israel, and in turn, Israel cannot rely forever on U.S. power to enable it to avoid meeting its neighbors half-way. Only in the context of a broader solution to the conflict as a whole, centered on meeting minimum Palestinian demands, can "Peace for Galilee" be won.

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Unions

Continued from page 6

anteing its nearly total autonomy, 1199 successfully blocked Heap's effort to put the union in receivership. Now it is going to court to enjoin RWDSU from further interference in 1199. The lawsuit also accuses RWDSU of violating the Landrum-Griffin Act by attempting to suppress the National Union's rights to free speech and dissent. The Hospital Union wants the court to invalidate 1982 amendments to the RWDSU constitution that rescind the traditional right of locals to disaffiliate and provided for trusteeship.

Hospital Union leaders link Heap's moves—which have been supported by Doris Turner, head of its largest district in New York City—to Heap's opposition to a merger between the Service Employees and RWDSU. Hospital Union leaders favored it to gain strength, since SEIU is the other major health care union. Heaps and Turner reportedly feared they would lose power and prerogatives.

Hospital Union leaders met with Heaps in January, but "he didn't move one whit," according to Executive Secretary Moe Foner. Instead, Heaps disbanded a negotiating committee and turned the issues over to the RWDSU executive committee. At its April meeting, it is expected to call a special convention that would presumably dissolve 1199, a remarkably successful, democratic and spirited union.

"That's what precipitated our move to the AFL-CIO," Foner said. Following the December convention mandate, the Hospital Union's top leaders asked the AFL-CIO either to guarantee that RWDSU will not interfere with 1199 or grant it a separate charter. Since other unions also claim jurisdiction in hospital and health care and some union presidents might feel uncomfortable rebuffing their colleague Heaps (or worry about secession from their own unions), 1199 might not get satisfaction and be forced to adopt its alternative strategy: withdrawal from RWDSU and the AFL-CIO.

The Hospital Union has lots of friends among some of the biggest and best unions in the federation, however. They recognize its well above-average success in organizing low-paid service workers. Even while union officers have had much of their time diverted into this internal battle, the union won five of seven representation elections it had in January alone.

If the Hospital Union gets a charter or breaks away, there is always a possibility that the New York leaders might try yet another split, even though that is prohibited by the Hospital Union constitution. But Turner and her slate are being challenged in April elections by other New York officers and members who are critical of her role in this *contretemps* and committed to Hospital Union autonomy.

Even putting the dispute on the agenda is a sign that AFL-CIO leaders are seriously concerned. But information director Murray Seeger was quoted as doubting that a charter would be granted. At this point a charter or independence from the AFL-CIO seem the most reasonable alternative. Whatever the difficulties, "if they want to do something," Foner says of the AFL-CIO, "they can."

AFL-CIO divisions.

Two other controversies are also likely to surface at the Executive Council. Some of the unions that have most openly opposed U.S. policy in Central America have criticized the Kissinger Commission report as inconsistent with the new resolution adopted at last fall's convention. To adopt such criticism would at the least be a reproach to Commission member Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO. Although Kirkland reportedly pressed for the Commission to link U.S. aid to progress on human rights, he endorsed the final report, including its support for the *contra* armies attacking Nicaragua with CIA support. (A short report on unions in Nicaragua by a group of American

unionists who recently visited there is available from American Labor Education Center, 1835 Kilbourne Pl., NW, Washington, DC 20010, [202] 387-6780.)

Military spending as well as specific new weapons and various disarmament strategies have increasingly divided the top ranks of labor. One reliable source reported that several union presidents were balking at signing a letter that Kirkland was circulating in advance. It was said to call for a 5 percent real increase annually in military spending over the next five years, less than Reagan wants but far more than advocated by many important unions.

McDonnell workers settle.

Striking aircraft workers at McDonnell Douglas Corp. suffered a painful defeat after fighting the company's demands for concessions for 17 weeks. On February 9 they accepted a contract that was nearly identical to the company offer before the strike and similar to a Machinist-negotiated settlement last fall at Boeing and at another plant of McDonnell Douglas.

Several factors worked against the 4,600-member Local 148 of the United Auto Workers that represented a large commercial aircraft plant in Long Beach, Calif. The concessions in the Machinist contracts set a precedent. There is high unemployment among aircraft workers. And, according to various sources, the international union was not very support-

tive of the strike.

In mid-January, each of the four locals on strike was permitted to vote separately on the contract, and three small locals in Oklahoma and Arkansas soon voted to end the strike. Then the international union forced Local 148 to hold a contract vote against the wishes of local union officers. Although Local 148 workers rejected the contract by a 72 percent vote, workers began crossing the picket line. Eventually, between one-third and one-half of strikers may have gone back to work and McDonnell Douglas threatened to hire replacements for strikers. Some local members believe the forced vote was taken as a sign that the international was not supporting the strike or didn't believe it could be won.

Paul Schrade, former West Coast regional director of the UAW, criticized the international for failing to provide support and leadership. "A lot of it is political, a lot of it is an unwillingness to take on the companies," he said. One reliable source said that even at the beginning of the strike, international officers commented very critically about Local 148 President Bob Berghoff, who has often challenged the union's dominant leadership group.

The contract establishes a two-tier wage system with lower rates for new workers. Instead of receiving a 3 percent annual wage increase that is rolled into base pay, workers will receive a lump-sum bonus. Although two-fifths of work-

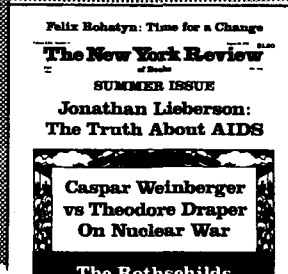
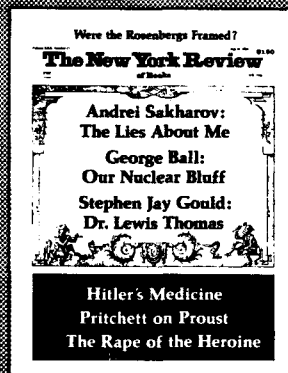
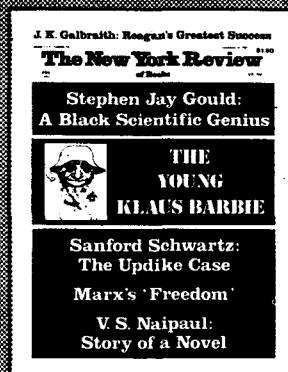
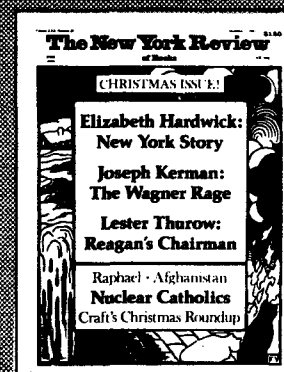
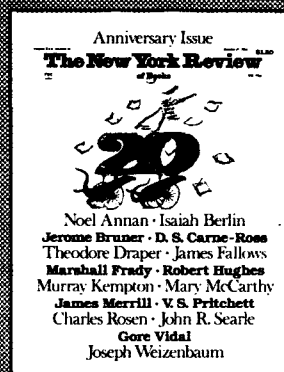
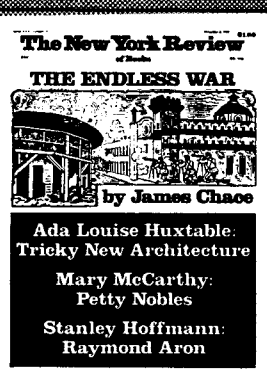
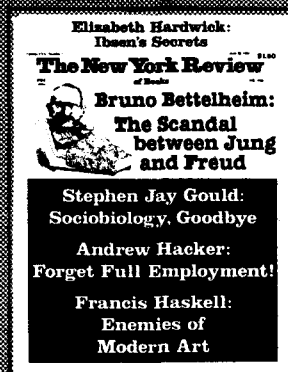
ers—most of them highly skilled—will receive pay increases, most workers' wages are frozen.

Gloomy trends.

The McDonnell Douglas contract not only reflects the growing trend toward "two-tier" contracts that cut wages for future employees (and undermine workplace solidarity) but also continues the concession trend that some observers expected to end with the economic recovery. In contracts negotiated last year, union workers received only an average of 2.6 percent increase in pay—an amount well below the 3.8 percent increase in the consumer price index.

Even more striking, wages of union workers on the average increased significantly less than wages of non-union workers, whose weekly earnings rose by an average of 5.8 percent. Although the union average was depressed by the deep wage concessions in steel and many unions won reasonable wage increases, the figures will not help union organizers.

Preliminary fiscal year 1982 figures on organizing, the latest available, confirm the reports of organizers in the field about the difficulty of recruiting new members. The total number of elections held dropped to 4,320 from 7,296 in 1980. Unions won only 43.8 percent of that reduced number, a new low. But if the word from organizers is a guide, 1983 figures may be grimmer yet.



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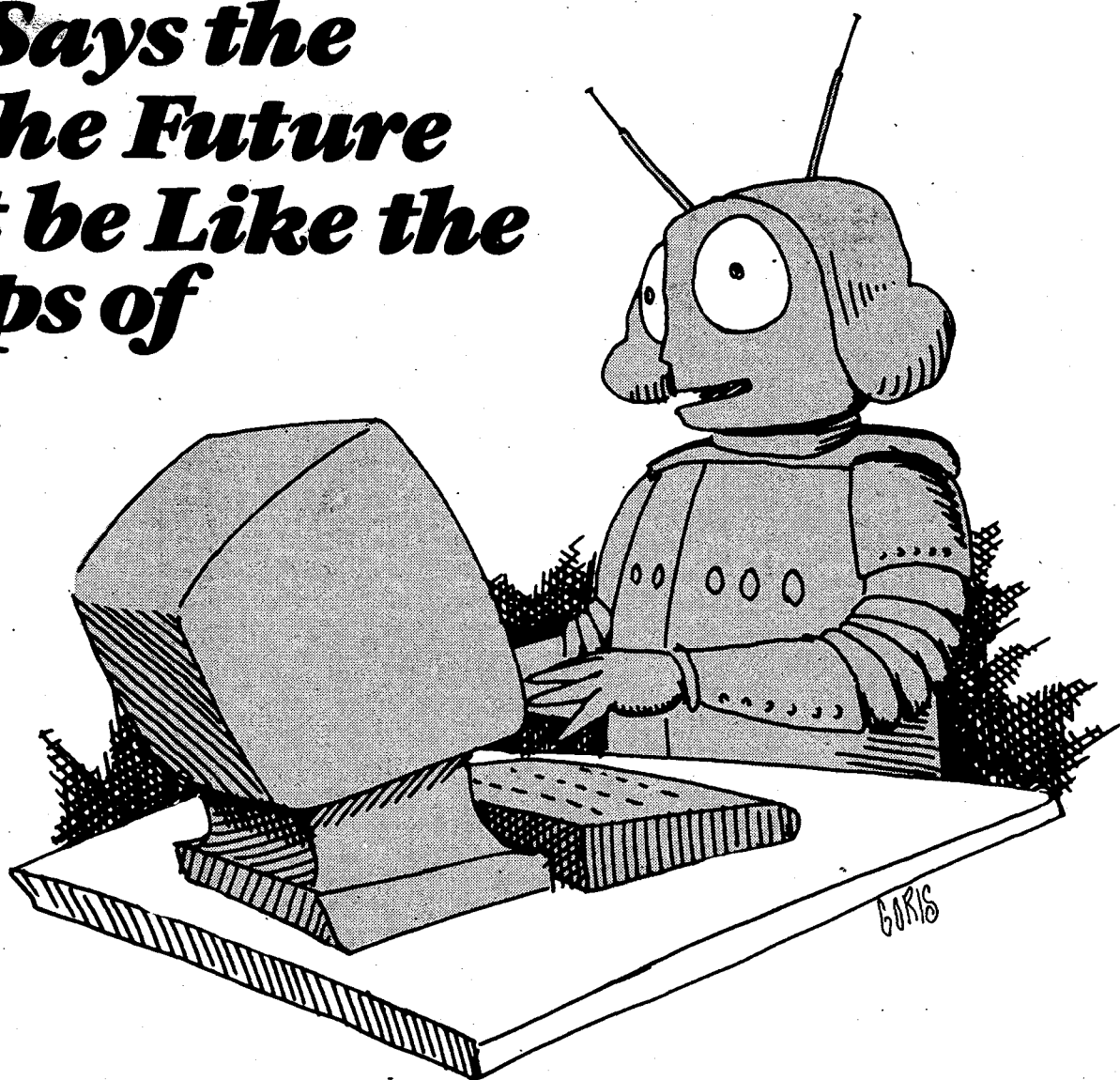
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ITT01

AFSCME Says the Office of the Future Shouldn't be Like the Sweatshops of the Past



New computer technologies are transforming American offices. With the introduction of computer systems, video display terminals, and other new technologies, office workers won't be doing their jobs in 1990 the way they did them in 1980.

As a union representing 250,000 office workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) wants to make sure that the new technologies work for office employees, not against them.

Unless workers have a strong voice in how new technologies are used, the office of the future could be like the factory of the past. New technologies could rob some office workers of their jobs, and leave other jobs "de-skilled," underpaid, and over-supervised.

Without proper safety precautions, some new office

equipment, such as video display terminals, can be dangerous to workers' health. And, unless office workers are trained in the new computer technologies, they will be denied opportunities for career advancement and personal growth.

In Los Angeles, New York City, Milwaukee, the District of Columbia, and other city and state governments, AFSCME has negotiated contract language preserving workers' job security during changeovers to new technology, protecting workers from health hazards caused by video display terminals, and providing pay increases for workers using sophisticated office machinery. On the national level, AFSCME has urged Congress to support government-funded training programs to prepare office workers for the technologies of the future.

To help office workers cope with the technologies that are transforming their jobs, AFSCME has published a new booklet, "Facing the Future." The booklet discusses the threats to workers' job security and health and safety and includes sample contract language that AFSCME has negotiated to protect office workers facing technological change.

If you'd like a copy of "Facing the Future," please clip and mail the coupon below.

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By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

ABOUT THE TIME THE U.S. Marines were getting the hell out of Beirut, French President Francois Mitterrand day-dreamed out loud in the Hague about how great it would be if Europe could have its own manned space station. European commentators generally dismissed Mitterrand's "Star Wars" speech as a typically inflated French fantasy. It was the most far-out expression yet of what seems to be Mitterrand's guiding obsession of late: using advanced technology to make France a great modern nation.

French technology is currently dependent to a dangerous degree on arms sales to the Mideast. So long as the Iran-Iraq war and the Lebanese conflict burn along more or less evenly, the Mideast arms market is reasonably assured. But any decisive upset could wreck everything. And even at best, the Arabian sands are an uncertain basis for European technological development. Thus French leaders seem almost desperately anxious to establish a more solid partnership with Europe, especially West Germany.

After De Gaulle took power and established the Fifth Republic a quarter of a century ago, French technological development was deliberately stimulated by an ambitious independent defense effort, which in turn rested on an aggressive arms export policy. A nation the size of France could not afford a technologically advanced independent arsenal without large enough sales abroad to make unit costs tolerable.

Shortly after he was elected president, Mitterrand symbolically ordered offensive weapons removed from French aircraft displayed at the June 1981 Bourget air show. The Socialist government would have liked to find a more glorious humanitarian role for France than world's number three arms exporter. Major industries were nationalized. But the government still has not been able to define an industrial policy for using them to some purpose. Socialist technocrats have lacked inspiration and, more important, there has been no social movement demanding certain kinds of production.

French reality.

By the 1983 Bourget air show, Mitterrand had come around to what he called "the reality of the French nation." In a speech to Bourget organizers, he recognized the need to sell arms abroad for the sake of "national independence."

The French arms industry has long benefited from a share of research and development subsidies larger than that for other sectors. At the peak of Gaullism in 1965, the arms industry got 41 percent of gross national research and development expenditure. This fell to 19 percent in 1976. But, apparently under the effect of the economic crisis, the trend turned upward in the late '70s. During a worldwide recession, when no alternative industrial strategy has been discovered, the military remains the safest market.

In April 1983, Defense Minister Charles Hernu noted that in France, a third of public research and development expenditure and a fourth of all research and development originate with the Defense Ministry. "This substantial effort has important spin-offs," he said. "It has contributed in no small way to providing the French economy with a high technology base, second to none in Europe."

The electronics industry gets the largest share of arms research credits—27 percent in 1980. At the production end, the French electronics industry is largely supported by military commands.

The main French electronics group is Thomson, nationalized under Mitterrand. Last year the Socialist government put its full political weight behind a Thomson bid to acquire the German Grundig electronics firm. It would have meant, among other things, an enlarged civilian market. But the deal fell through, mainly because of unanimous German distrust of French state ownership. (Business leaders objected to the violation of free-enterprise principles, while German labor feared the French would use the merger to export their own unemployment to German factories.) About half of

France is now dependent to a dangerous degree on the Mideast arms market.

Thomson's production continues to be military, with no new important markets in sight.

Since the Socialists consider electronics essential to the maintenance of France's place among technologically advanced nations, and since this technology is heav-

ily dependent on arms exports, it follows that the whole structure of French technological development is extremely vulnerable to the collapse of the arms export market.

France's apparently steady 10 percent of the world arms market is lopsided and precarious. Although France sells arms wherever it can all over the world, the really important contracts are with a few Arab states.

International boom.

The international arms boom of the '70s was closely linked to the rise in oil prices. Western arms sales to Iran and Arab oil-producing states were an important form of "capital recycling." A large fraction of the enlarged petroleum profit margin went to subsidize arms industries in both East and West.

In this period, more than half of French arms exports went to the Mideast. France got an especially big share of markets that the U.S., for political reasons, could not—or at least not yet—take for itself: 40 percent of Egypt's arms purchases, 38 percent of Iraq's and a third of Saudi Arabia's.

Dependence on Mideast sales has only increased as markets become saturated and Third World states are either too broke to buy or are becoming competitors.

The Iran-Iraq war has been a blessing for arms exporters. Without it, revolu-

tionary Iran could have been a total loss once the Shah's fabulous shopping binge was brought to an end. Instead, Khomeini's regime has had to keep buying replacement parts at inflated prices from Israel, South Korea, Taiwan and even NATO. The conflict keeps all the Gulf states nervous and buying. Iraq has been France's best customer.

Still, at the end of last year, French annual arms exports were estimated at a mere 32 billion francs, compared to 41.6 billion francs the year before. But January brought good news: a single Saudi Arabian contract for \$4 billion worth of anti-aircraft missile defense—a sum equal to the entire 1983 arms sales. Abu Dhabi was close behind with an order for 18 Mirage fighter planes.

At the same time, a large cloud was appearing on the horizon. West German firms were being awarded Saudi Arabian contracts for even larger amounts—\$5.5 billion worth—of similar equipment. In late January, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Israel and informed Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir flatly that from now on, the Federal Republic will sell arms wherever it pleases—including to Israel's Arab enemies.

This is a sign of the way Israeli government policies, and notably the invasion of Lebanon, have used up Israel's immense moral credit. Israeli television quoted Kohl as telling Shamir: "Israel makes huge weapons deals with many countries. Sometimes Israeli weapons reach Israel's enemies." If, as is now common knowledge, Israel sells arms to Khomeini, why shouldn't West Germany sell purely defensive anti-aircraft systems to "moderate" Saudi Arabia?

This loss of German inhibitions about arms sales can be judged unfortunate at the level of international morality. At quite another level, it is bad news for France, which has based much of its post-war predominance in Europe on German inhibitions resulting from World War II. Thus France could have its own nuclear arsenal, but Germany could not. France could export arms everywhere, but Germany could not.

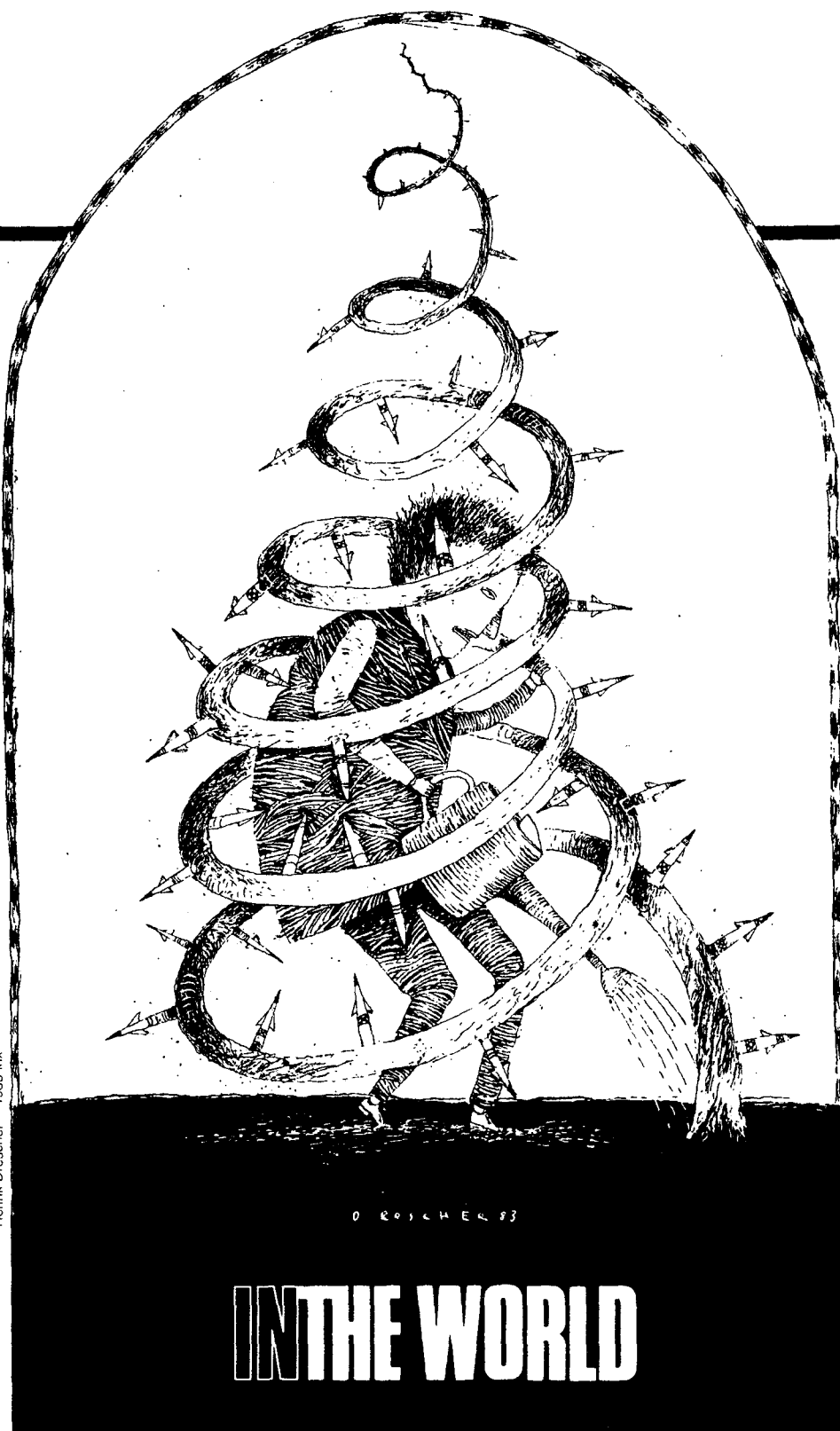
Little by little, West Germany is throwing off the restraints of its 1961 "war weapons control law" that banned arms exports to "tension zones" and required purchasing countries to certify how and where the arms would be used, to prevent re-export. In practice, arms manufacturers got around the law, but only to a limited extent.

The German arms industry stuck mainly to NATO markets—notably Portugal, Turkey and Greece—or else concealed its role through joint production arrangements in which the final product would be marked by a less politically sensitive country—notably France. The famous Exocet missile that sank a British ship in the Falklands was an example of an international product bearing a French label.

The lifting of Germany's moral inhibitions could mean that German arms manufacturers no longer need the French connection for political cover. Instead, the Germans could provide tough competition in an already saturated market.

French leaders now regard Franco-German cooperation in military production as a top priority. Germany is not only a potential rival, it is also France's best market. The ideal solution for France would be to join up with Germany in producing weapons for the European market. Mitterrand's "Star Wars" speech in the Hague was primarily an attempt to lure the Germans into such a partnership.

But Mitterrand knows that his chances are slim against the U.S., his main rival. David M. Abshire, the U.S. ambassador to NATO, has been heavily lobbying for joint arms-production deals that would tie European, and especially German industry tightly to U.S. technology. ■



EXPORTS

French arms sales sow Mideast strife

The Spirit Tony

By John Yates

LONDON

IN A FEW WEEKS THE PEOPLE OF Chesterfield will elect a new member of Parliament (MP). Normally such a safe Labour seat—it has been Labour since 1931—would attract little attention. But this is no ordinary by-election. The city, with its strangely twisted steeple, has already been invaded by reporters, pollsters and camera crews. The *Manchester Guardian* has called it “the most spectacular by-election of several years.”

It's not just that this is the first by-election since Neil Kinnock was elected leader of the Labour Party, and thus a test of his leadership, nor that it is a test of the party's growing popularity in the opinion polls, up 10 points since the June 9 defeat and now only four points behind the Tories. The real importance of Chesterfield lies in the local constituency party's choice of a candidate—a man the press loves to hate: Tony Benn.

Benn was a victim of the shattering general election June defeat. His safe seat, Bristol South East, had been redrawn into a marginal seat, Bristol East. He polled 36.9 percent of the vote, coming in second behind Tory J. Sayeed, with 40 percent of the vote. Benn told his supporters not to shed tears—“my commitment to the Labour Party will remain unchanged.”

He began to write a regular column in the *Guardian*. His first piece, “The Spirit of Labour Reborn,” offered an optimistic analysis of Labour's defeat. At a time when most election commentators were talking about the need for Labour to revise its policies, to water down its commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament, to rethink its opposition to continued membership in the EEC, to reconsider the question of council house sales, Benn was telling them to stand firm. Labour, he said, had gone into the election with “openly socialist policies”—and re-

ceived more than 8.5 million votes.

It was a message to the Labour left: don't let the right change the policies. “Socialism has appeared once more on the national agenda,” Benn says.

Benn's analysis is instructive. He says the Labour governments of 1964-70 and 1974-79 were not socialist, but social democratic. According to Benn, the Social Democratic Party has governed Britain since 1940.

The problem was how to turn the Labour Party into an effective socialist organization. The policies were not at fault,

Benn argued, since most of these were drawn up by a left-dominated National Executive Committee, chaired by Benn. No, the problem lay with the party's constitution, which gave too much power to the parliamentary party, and especially to the leader.

Others had also arrived at this conclusion. The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy (CLPD), a small but skillful group of left-wing members, was pushing the Conference—the Labour party's sovereign body—to accept two important constitutional changes that would break

the traditional power of the leadership.

CLPD campaigned for the mandatory reselection of all MPs and for a new system of electing the party leader, traditionally performed by the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) itself. Mandatory reselection would make MPs accountable to local constituencies. And widening the franchise for the election would also give the constituencies of the leader more say in who was to become the party's leader.

Benn supported the CLPD after the 1979 election defeat. Mandatory reselection was won the same year, giving the constituency parties the power to dismiss sitting MPs if local members were dissatisfied with their performance.

At Wembley in 1981 the power to elect the leader—and hence the prime minister—was taken away from MPs and vested in an electoral college, where MPs were a minority.

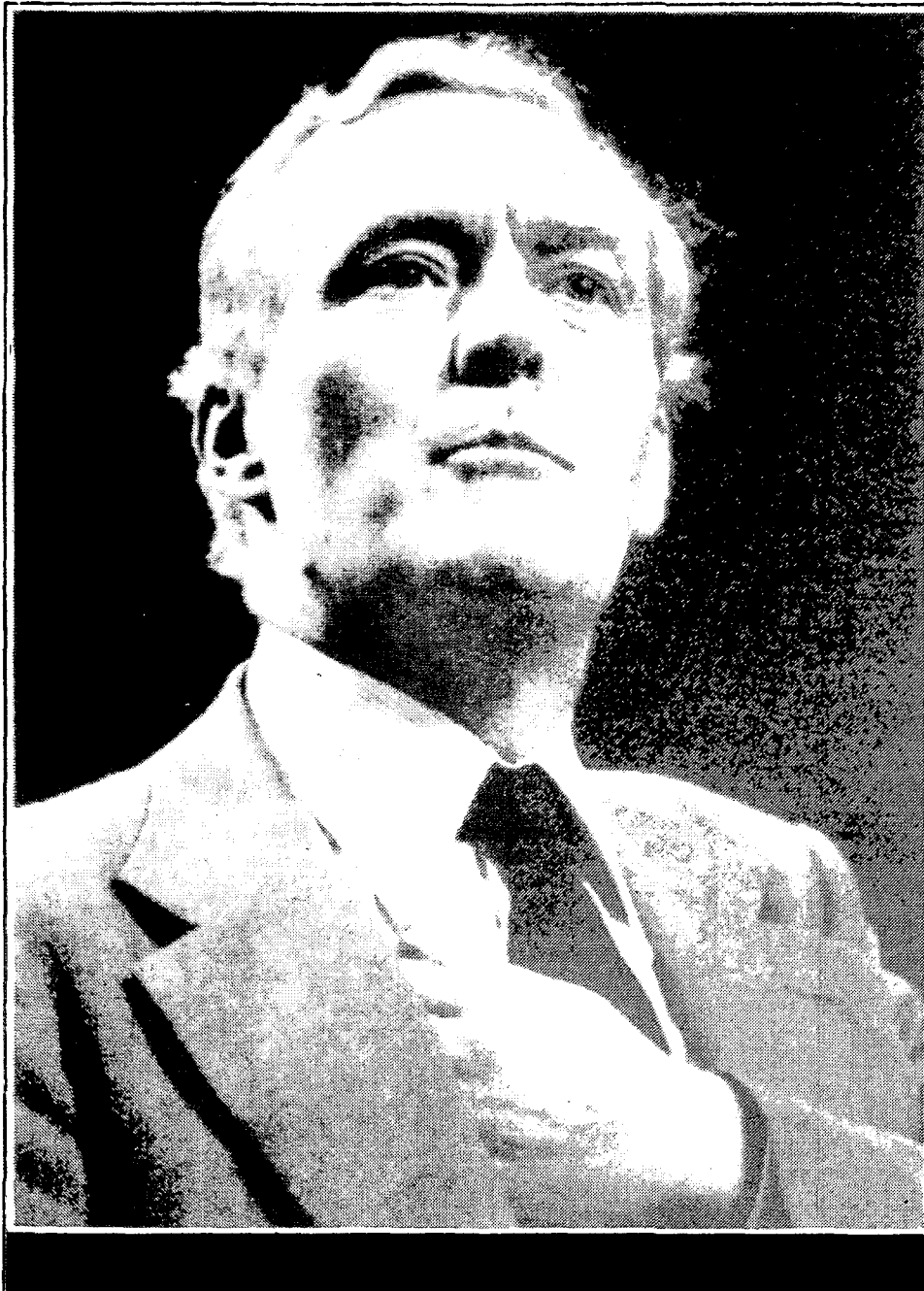
These changes have fundamentally altered the nature of the Labour Party. They were accompanied by several policy changes—the demand for immediate withdrawal from Europe, for an Alternative Economic Strategy, for unilateral nuclear disarmament and an end to American bases in the UK. Benn wants Labour to hold on to these policies and to implement them when in power.

Benn and the party.

During the Wembley conference Benn came to within 10 percent of winning the deputy leadership of the party. It was the first time the electoral college had been used. Benn gained a lot of support at the time from constituency activists and one group in particular—the Labour Coordinating Committee (LCC).

Wembley was probably a watershed in Benn's career. Had he won the deputy leadership, it is unlikely he would have been selected for the marginal seat, Bristol East. As it was, he lost the deputy leadership and Bristol East—and with that, his chances of ever becoming leader of the Labour Party.

Benn's chance to get back to Parlia-



Der Spiegel

Spirit of

Benn

It came when Eric Varley announced his intention to resign as MP for Chesterfield. Varley, once the Labour Party's treasurer and a senior cabinet minister, taken a new job as second in command at Coalite, a company best known for its ownership of large tracts of the Channel Islands.

Seven days prior to Varley's resignation, a local executive committee drew up a short list of potential candidates. Despite being a clear favorite with the constituency members and affiliated organizations, Benn's name did not appear on the list. Chesterfield has always had a local hero for MP. Benn was seen as something of a carpetbagger. All the executive's list were locals.

Quite predictably, two days later the general management committee overruled the executive's decision and included Benn's name on the list.

Finally, on January 15, the selection committee met at the Derbyshire headquarters of the miners' union in Chesterfield. His final vote of 64 gave him a slender overall majority—there were 127 delegates at the conference. But Benn had 28 more than his nearest rival.

As soon as the selection was announced, knives were sharpened in Fleet Street. "Benn Roars Back" screamed the *Sun*. The *Daily Express*, willfully ignoring Chesterfield's traditional moderation, described Benn's selection as a "triumph for extremism." It went on: "In losing Tony Benn Chesterfield Labour Party has opted for a symbol of those key qualities that so repulsed the voters at the last two elections."

According to the *Daily Mail*, "Like Frankenstein, the Bennite monster has been reactivated to smash through the file compromise and moderation... to turn the Labour Party once more into an unpredictable comic-horror show."

Benn has frightened the establishment. They fear the party he represents. Unlike Gordon and Callaghan, who could be expected to put "nation" before party, the

establishment fears Benn will do what he is delegated to do—carry out party policy.

But Benn has paid a price. He is repeatedly vilified by the Fleet Street press—portrayed as a lunatic or a sub-human monster. And already there are signs of anti-Benn feeling in Chesterfield.

On January 26, the Liberal Party contested the New Whittington ward in the heart of Chesterfield. It was the first time they had fielded a candidate in 25 years. Benn turned out to canvass for the local Labour candidate, a moderate local miner. When the results were announced, the Liberal Party had won. New Whittington had been with Labour for 40 years.

The idea is already circulating that Benn's candidacy will cause Labour to suffer the same kind of by-election swing against it that it suffered at Bermondsey in February 1983. In that case, a young left-wing candidate, Peter Tatchell, was selected to fight an impregnable Labour constituency. Bob Mellish, the retiring Labour MP, had frequently been elected with more than 70 percent of the vote. Labour lost the Bermondsey by-election to the Liberals.

But it is inaccurate to compare Chesterfield with Bermondsey. Defeated candidacy rival Phillip Whitehead dismissed the idea in an article in a recent issue of the *London Times*. In Bermondsey the local party was in disarray. In Chesterfield there is a strong, efficient political organization. In Bermondsey the candidate was initially denied the support of the Labour leadership.

Benn has the public support of the leader, Neil Kinnock, and the candidates he beat at the selection conference. And Benn himself is a gifted and determined campaigner.

But all the signs show Benn will have to work hard to win. He is defending a majority of 7,000, which could be cut to just 1,000.

Benn is handicapped by being an outsider. But, more important, the Liberals, encouraged by their win at New Whittington, have an efficient—some would

say ruthless—campaigning team. It's the same team that destroyed Peter Tatchell in Bermondsey.

Odds on the Liberals winning at Chesterfield went from 12-1 to 3-1 after the New Whittington result. Benn himself will keep a low profile. Press conferences will be kept at a minimum. But he may find himself wishing it were a general election, not a by-election, as the press coverage will be intense, and the campaign could become dirty.

If he is elected, not much will change immediately. Neil Kinnock is still enjoying a honeymoon period with the party. Many of his advisers, such as Peter Hain, Patricia Hewitt and Nigel Stanley, are members of the Labour Coordinating Committee, who supported Benn at Wembley in the deputy leadership battle.

It is clear from the policies Kinnock is now pursuing that some members of the LCC only supported Benn in 1981 because there was no alternative—it was either him or Healey. The "new revisionism," as it is being called, seeks to make conference policy palatable to the electorate. Presentation and acceptability are winning out over a dogmatic interpretation of conference principles.

Benn will not like the changing attitudes to withdrawal from the EEC. He wants out. But the new leadership is talking about changing and challenging the EEC from within.

If elected, Benn would be confined to making noises on the back benches (he is not a member of the shadow cabinet). But if Labour does badly in the European elections and the local elections next year, Kinnock's honeymoon will be over, and Benn could become a leading opposition figure.

If he loses in Chesterfield—and this is possible—Benn would be well advised not to fight another by-election, but instead wait for the next general election, when the glare of the camera lights will be less intense.

John Yates is a London-based freelance journalist.

Despite a bad rap by the British press, the leader of the Labour left is trying for a comeback.

EDITORIAL



Destruction of Beirut and continued fighting are the results of basically misguided American policy.

A failed policy cries for a basic change

Ronald Reagan's decision to withdraw American Marines from Beirut constitutes an admission that his policy in Lebanon has failed. But the question is whether the Reagan administration will learn anything from this failure.

Three key assumptions have underlain the administration's foreign policy in Lebanon and elsewhere: first, that regional and local conflicts around the world, from El Salvador to the Shuf Mountains, are expressions of the conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union; second, that the success of the administration's foreign policy will be measured by whether it wins these conflicts; and third, that the administration will succeed to the extent that it is able to supplement diplomacy with military power.

This administration's greatest achievement to date has been the successful conquest of Grenada, which former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford compared to the Washington Redskins beating a team from the Little Sisters of the Poor. But Lebanon has proved a more difficult test. The Reagan administration's experience in Lebanon stands to its foreign policy as its budget deficits stand to its economic policy.

In Lebanon, three different sets of conflicts have been played out. The most basic has been the sectarian and confessional, which goes back to the '30s, when Lebanon was carved out of Greater Syria. The next most important is the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was superimposed on Lebanon in the late '40s and which became critical in 1970, after the PLO moved its headquarters from Amman to Beirut. The third and least important conflict is that between the U.S. and Soviet Union, which has been tempered by Soviet and American reluctance to send their own troops into the area—1958 was the last time the U.S. sent troops; the Soviet Union never has—and by the relative independence of Syria and Israel.

The relationship of Syria to Lebanon

and to the Soviet Union has been complex. Syria first sent its troops into Lebanon in 1976 at the request of the Maronite Christians, who asked the Syrians to prevent the PLO and their Lebanese Moslem allies from taking over the country. Last year, Syria defied its Soviet benefactor when it successfully split the PLO.

Two American strategies.

In its behavior toward Lebanon, the U.S. has allowed itself to be guided entirely by a simple-minded application of the East-West conflict to the area. It has undertaken two different strategies, both of which were motivated by the desire to deal the Soviet Union and whatever nations and groups were allied to it out of a final settlement in Lebanon. The American objective—whose crudity recalls Eisenhower's policy toward Egypt—was to produce an unequivocally pro-Western and pro-Israeli Lebanon, though not even a hydrogen bomb detonated over Damascus would have permitted the U.S. to achieve this objective.

The first strategy was developed by then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Haig greeted the 1982 Israeli invasion—in Henry Kissinger's words—as a "golden opportunity" to destroy the pro-Soviet PLO and to impose a pro-Western government on Lebanon. Opposition to Haig's strategy within the Reagan administration was a consideration in his replacement by George Shultz.

Shultz's strategy was to tilt American policy back toward the "moderate Arab states," who had been alienated by Haig's policies, and away from Israel. Under Shultz, the administration introduced troops in Lebanon initially to serve as a buffer between the Israelis and their enemies. In September 1982, Reagan introduced a new plan for a Palestinian entity attached to Jordan.

But, like Haig, Shultz meant to exclude Syria and its allies in Lebanon from any settlement. By excluding Syria, the U.S. found itself dependent upon Israel in Leb-

anon at the same time as it was trying to distance itself from Israeli policies. The culmination of Shultz's strategy was the May 17 accord between the Gemayel government and Israel, which virtually ceded sovereignty over southern Lebanon to Israel by treating the bottom third of Lebanon as a "security region" that Israeli as well as Lebanese troops could police.

Both Syria and Moslem and Druze allies in Lebanon rejected the accord, leaving the U.S. with the choice of starting over or trying to force the Syrians and their allies to submit. Unwittingly, the U.S. chose the latter course. In effect, the Shultz strategy became the Haig strategy. But where Haig had assumed that the Israeli army would bludgeon Syria, the Druze and the Moslems into submission, Shultz and Reagan had only the divided Lebanese Armed Forces and the Marine "peacekeeping" force to do the trick. Faced with domestic and Arab opposition to a greater American military role, Reagan's policy had to fail.

On February 7, Reagan announced the administration's intention to draw back the Marines. Unwilling to accept defeat gracefully, the administration coupled its announcement with a massive naval bombardment of Druze and Syrian positions. The bombardment was militarily useless—both the Syrians and Druze largely rely on portable mortars, which are immune to long range naval gunfire, and the Shi'ite forces are within West Beirut, which the administration is reluctant to bombard. State and Defense Department officials also equivocated about the final date of withdrawal. But opposition from Republican as well as Democratic officeholders finally forced Reagan to announce a March withdrawal date.

What now?

With the collapse of the administration's "Haig in Shultz's clothing" strategy, the administration is likely to revert to some version of Shultz's original idea. This would mean again tilting toward moderate Arab states and a refocusing of American policy on Arab-Israeli negotiations over the Palestinians. In Lebanon, the administration would publicly bless reform of the Lebanese government to give the Druze and Moslems power proportionate to their numbers, and would resign itself to the partition of the country into Israeli, Christian Maronite and Syrian-Moslem-Druze zones.

Such a strategy may achieve a fleeting appearance of motion. The Israeli government is theologically committed to the retention of the West Bank and politically and militarily committed to extinguishing organized Palestinian nationalism. The PLO, for its part, is no longer able to represent the Palestinians unequivocally, and the Syrian wing of the PLO will block any negotiations that do not include the Syrians.

Just as there is no current strategy that would result in American dominance of the Mideast, there is no current strategy that would achieve peace, justice and some stability. Even the best-intentioned and least reactionary American administration would probably be unable to get Abu Musa, Yitzhak Shamir and Hafez Assad in the same room. But a long range plan for peace in the region is conceivable.

For this, two assumptions, both foreign to the Reagan administration, are necessary: first, that the goal in the Mideast is to remove any East-West dimension from the region's conflicts—both in order to make the conflicts resolvable and to prevent World War III. Second, that while the U.S. has a continuing responsibility, dating from World War II and the Nazi Holocaust, to assure the existence of Israel, it also has a responsibility to secure the rights of Palestinians displaced in the creation of Israel.

The U.S. has an added incentive to secure Palestinian national rights: by doing so—contrary to the protestations of Israel's government—it will best secure Israel's safety by eliminating the principal cause of instability in the region.

The first step in eliminating the East-West dimension of Mideast conflicts is to bring the Syrians, the factions of the PLO (which would be quickly reunited if Syria consented) and the Soviet Union into a Mideast peace plan. The Carter administration briefly contemplated such a step in 1978, but dropped it when Israel objected.

Key negotiations would have to take place between the Maronite Christians and the Druze and Moslem opposition in Lebanon, between the Syrians and the Israelis and between the PLO and the Israelis, with Jordan an interested party. A final settlement could take this form:

- Syria would recognize Israel, withdraw its forces from Lebanon and cease its support for the rejectionist PLO;
- The reunited PLO would recognize Israel's right to exist and agree to participate in negotiations with Israel and Jordan over the creation of a demilitarized national entity on the West Bank and Gaza;
- Lebanon's Maronite Christians would agree to share power in Lebanon

New assumptions are needed if peace and stability are to be brought to the region.

with the Moslem and Druze communities;

- Israel would agree to negotiate the return of the Golan Heights to Syria and the creation of a Palestinian entity with the PLO and Jordan and would withdraw its troops from southern Lebanon.

Such a long-range plan would initially be opposed by Israel and Syria, but if the U.S. were willing to enlist the Soviet Union's aid, it might bring both Syria and Israel into negotiations.

Of course, either a Reagan or a Mondale administration would reject this plan, Reagan because of his obsession with besting the Soviet Union, Mondale because of the Democrats' traditional obsequiousness to any Israeli government. ■

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

COST EFFECTIVE

WHEN I HEARD OUR PRESIDENT deliver his 1984 State of the Union message, I had to ask, "What else can we do to help reduce this bloated government spending?" There was something about Mr. Reagan's ubiquitous smile that made me think of capital punishment.

Since he's been in office, the question of the most humane method of execution has become increasingly relevant. Electrocuting? Lethal injection? Gas chambers? Agent Orange?

It might seem that no one could dispute the importance of this debate. After all, executions will increase dramatically as America's small dreams become great. And the cost of capital punishment may soon be a major factor in the government deficit.

But, as I heard Our President explain how the government is still wasting money, a stunning insight seized me—the death penalty debate has missed the point of Reaganomics. The issue is not how executions can be made more humane, but how they can be more cost effective.

So how do we do it? Simple, get the government out of the capital punishment business and let the private sector take over! Once we turn executions over to the company with the lowest bid, soaring penalty costs will be exterminated.

A company might offer a low bid by making "group rates" available. Some may object that mass executions would be immoral. But remember what Our President said about morality: "It would be immoral to make those who are paying taxes pay more to compensate for those who aren't paying their share." Is there one true American who would dispute the fact that those waiting on death row are not paying their fair share? Why should corporations foot the bill for executing some criminal? If America can show its greatness by wiping out a mental hospital in Grenada, then surely....

Let's not kid around. You and I know the real objection to letting the private sector take over capital punishment. It's the old attitude that there are some responsibilities only the state can perform. But don't forget that not one of our corporate giants would be where it is today if it weren't willing to make profits from killing people. The steel and railroad industries kill hundreds every year. The auto industry has unselfishly done its part in helping South Africa keep its wage scale for blacks at a competitive level (which, though it may surprise a few, often requires some sacrifice in human life). Don't forget how IT&T helped the Chilean generals control the disruptive elements in their society. And what about the most patriotic of all industries, weapons manufacturing? And then, there's the nuclear industry. And Dow and Monsanto.

But we live in a free society, a capitalist society. And in a capitalist society, where businessmen's right to make a profit is paramount, each of us needs to ask if America has the strength and courage to look at corporate profits with compassion and understanding. If you believe that America's days of weakness are over, then you will join me in saying:

*For executions without a stay,
Let free enterprise pave the way!*

—Don Fitz
St. Louis

TWIN CITY PORN

AS AN OUT-OF-STATE EXPERT witness in Minneapolis at the hearings on the injury pornography does, I thought David Rubenstein's report (ITT, Jan. 18) was among the best I've read. But I want to clear up one point.

The article stated that opponents of the amendment were cut short. In fact, while I was scheduled to speak and answer questions for one hour, my time was reduced to about 15 minutes so that the co-owner of a small bookstore who had a crying baby could speak against the ordinance and present her view that a distinction should be made between book stores that sold only pornography and those that also sold other books (like her store). Because my time was truncated, I was not able to include relevant material and cannot insert that material into the transcript. An examination of the transcript will indicate that everyone had the opportunity to present their viewpoints. I wonder why the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, which was notified, did not testify. The hearings ended only when no one present indicated a desire to speak further.

Testifying at the hearings was one of the high points of my life. I thanked the sponsors of the bill and professors Dworkin and MacKinnon for allowing me the privilege of being present at the making of women's history.

—Pauline B. Bart, Ph.D.

University of Illinois Medical Center
Chicago

McGOVERN

YOU PERFORMED A GREAT SERVICE for your readers with publication of the article on George McGovern by David Moberg (ITT, Feb. 1).

Until reading it (perhaps because the establishment news media and the Democratic Party have not taken McGovern's candidacy seriously), I felt there was no candidate I could support in good conscience. The article sharply reminded me that McGovern was once a candidate I believed in and supported because he is, as you pointed out, "a man of principle."

The first argument I'm sure to hear is, "He can't win." Well, what's wrong with going with my conscience as far as the primary? Further, how do we know he can't win? I recall how hard I laughed when Nixon, who had been defeated in his bid for governor of California, threw his hat in the ring for president. Absolutely everyone said, "He can't win."

All women who cherish what rights they have owe it not just to support a candidate who has always been solidly behind women's rights (as opposed to those who are now knocking themselves out me-tooing), but also to support a man who lost his Senate seat because of his courageous stand on reproductive freedom of choice. How quickly many of my sisters have forgotten that of all the candidates, George McGovern is the only one who put his career on the line to preserve their right to choose.

Please tell us how to get in touch with McGovern's campaign headquarters so that we can send a few dollars and contribute a few hours of our time.

—Shirley L. Radl
Palo Alto, Calif.

McGovern for President, 2031 Florida Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

QUALITY

IN HIS REVIEW OF THE TWO BOOKS on labor and concessions (ITT, Jan. 25), David Moberg writes, "There is ample reason to worry about what management would like to do with its proposals for 'quality circles'..." He also notes a division between those in labor who pursue a traditional adversarial relationship with management, and "those who see the labor movement as one vehicle for workers usurping more and more control over the workplace, investment and society," and he suggests that "there are 'collaborationist' and socialist versions of the latter."

"Quality circles" are now more than a proposal; they are a reality in hundreds, if not thousands of plants. The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) recommends them to non-union plants as a way to keep unions out. Meanwhile, major unions like the UAW and USWA have been actively promoting them in plants they represent.

As the ongoing coverage of this issue in *Labor Notes* has shown, "quality circles" (under a variety of names) have been a management strategy for undermining unions. They have brought workers with anti-union, pro-company attitudes "out of the closet," induced groups of workers to denounce each other as "unproductive" and to suggest "productivity improvements" that eliminate jobs. They serve to transfer worker loyalty to the company. Leaders of unions that had opposed "quality circles" early on—such as the IAM, UE and OCAW—predicted just such developments. But labor and left proponents of "quality circles" have promoted them as some kind of painless, struggle-free road to workers' control of industry.

Near the end of his review, Moberg cites a need for more grappling with "difficult strategic questions facing unions." We certainly need such a discussion, and it seems reasonable to expect America's leading socialist weekly to help spark it. Such discussion must go beyond celebrating the "progressive" stance taken by union leaders on this or that legislative or electoral contest, and examine what's actually happening in the workplaces. A strategy for nominating Walter Mondale is not the same thing as a strategy for reversing the rout of the union movement.

—Al Hart
Erie, Pa.

David Moberg replies: For the labor movement, political and industrial strategies ultimately reinforce or under-

mine each other. Work organization is an essential arena of conflict. In the past, unions as well as management have tended to resolve their conflicts in rigid bureaucratic stalemates.

But most workers are not very happy with work under those conditions, although they vastly prefer protective bureaucracy to an autocratic boss. To fulfill workers' own needs and aspirations that are at least as legitimate as money and pensions, unions must fight to create the conditions for satisfaction in work. If they don't, management will be clever enough—as Hart notes—in many cases to devise its own strategies for appealing to those needs but undercutting unions.

Greater control over the workplace is also essential as a base for gaining a voice concerning new technologies as well as for building consciousness among workers that they can—and should—make major decisions now left to executives, with disastrous results for workers.

Finally, emphasizing class struggle in the labor movement, even repeating that ultimately workers and bosses have nothing in common, does not adequately address an unpleasant reality. In the short-term, which is when contracts are negotiated and workers live and pay their bills, there is some common interest between workers and managers. A firm that closes doesn't provide jobs. So a worker in that firm quite rightly sees some reason to keep his or her job, especially if the labor movement and its political allies have not been able to guarantee socialized job security.

The key for union strategies is to prevent that short-term reality from overwhelming the long-term adversarial relationship and to challenge managerial decisions that threaten workers and their interests, but ignoring it completely risks losing touch with legitimate fears of workers. Thus increasing productivity is not contrary to workers' interests; the question is: how will it be achieved and who benefits?

Union strategies for workplace control—a labor alternative to quality circles—can bring productivity gains, distribute benefits to workers, improve job security and satisfaction and educate for greater worker control on the job and in society.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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"In These Times fills a need, an important one, and does so successfully. I've found the foreign commentary and coverage particularly impressive."

Noam Chomsky



PERSPECTIVES

By Jeffrey Cox

SINCE HIS ELECTION AS leader of the Labour Party last October, Neil Kinnock has shown a potential for a new kind of socialist leadership for Britain. Kinnock owes his leadership to the left wing's decisive victories in internal party struggles that followed Margaret Thatcher's election in 1979. These victories greatly strengthened the unions and the traditionally left-wing local constituency parties at the expense of the traditionally right-wing parliamentary Labour Party. The left's triumph caused many prominent Labour right-wingers to defect and form their own party, the Social Democrats. Kinnock's attempt to transcend this left-right struggle, distinguished him from the left, which supported him, as well as from the right, which opposed him. His new consensus within the party is giving hope to many active Labourites and causing others a great deal of anxiety.

As a result of the internal reforms of the last four years, the Labour Party Kinnock leads is very different from the party that governed for much of the '60s and '70s. As Labour prime minister in the '60s, Harold Wilson almost destroyed party idealism through sheer opportunism and subservience to American foreign policy. In power again in the mid-'70s, Wilson and his successor James Callaghan scrapped the proposals for economic democracy and industrial planning that had carried Labour to victory in two general elections in 1974, and governed according to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

This socialist government, cooperating with Chancellor Schmidt of Germany and President Carter, planned the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing missiles. In a furious reaction against this, the left took the offensive in 1980, won control of the party and chose Michael Foot as party leader. But the veteran old leftist led the party to one of its most catastrophic defeats last June.

In the post-election panic, even some leftists argue that Labour moved too far ahead of public opinion. E.P. Thompson, formerly a scourge of moderate Labourites, now suggests that Labour foolishly emphasized unilateral nuclear disarmament in the 1983 campaign instead of limiting itself to opposition to the unpopular Cruise missiles and Trident submarines.

Eric Hobsbawm, a long-time Communist Party member, goes much further. Having surveyed Labour's current weakness in the light of a long-term decline in Labour's voting strength, he concludes that Labour has alienated millions of traditional supporters and is unlikely to regain a parliamentary majority. The party should abandon doctrinaire socialism, he suggests, enter into an anti-Thatcher "popular front" with Liberals and Social Democrats and make a new appeal to the upwardly mobile, skilled industrial workers who have defected to Thatcher. The alternative may be years of right-wing rule.

On the far left of the Labour Party some share Hobsbawm's pessimism but are unhappy with his recommendations. They talk darkly of a major swing to the right under the influence of "Hobsbawmania," and fear the party will appeal to affluent industrial workers by abandoning its commitments to women, racial minorities and gays and lesbians. As an alternative to a new campaign to recapture relatively affluent industrial workers, they propose grassroots educational campaigns organized around specific issues and designed to bring together a new "coalition of the dispossessed": feminists, racial minorities, the unemployed, single parents, the handicapped and others.



Kinnock may lead a left resurgence

These critics of Labour's alleged swing to the right, many of them associated with Labour controlled local governments, are more comfortable with direct action than with parliamentary politics. Their models for political action are the women of Greenham Common rather than parliamentarians like Neil Kinnock.

Enter Neil Kinnock.

Kinnock must persuade the left that he is not another Harold Wilson, persuade the electorate that he is not another Michael Foot and persuade his own party that Labour can win. His supporters argue that Hobsbawm's pessimism is overstated.

There are some good reasons for believing they are right. Margaret Thatcher was extraordinarily lucky in 1983. Labour was bitterly divided and forced to

fend off a challenge from the Social Democrats. Michael Foot had little electoral appeal, while Thatcher was basking in the glory of the Falklands victory. Finally, the Conservatives received a one-time windfall from the legislative re-districting that followed the 1980 census.

Although Thatcher still leads Labour in the polls, her lead is now narrow and the electorate notoriously volatile. Much of the Conservative legislative agenda will be unpopular. Except for the far left, there is a desperate desire for unity in all sections of the Labour Party, and the constitutional issues that tore it apart have now been settled. Kinnock's press coverage, so far, has been remarkably friendly. The Social Democrats, having won a pathetic six seats in Parliament, are gradually fading away in the polls. Voters have forgotten the Falklands at last. No one believes that a Labour recovery will be automatic, but a parliamentary majority no longer appears impossible.

For Labour to succeed, however, their leaders must make an intelligible case for socialism and disarmament. In the last election many of Labour's proposals sounded naive, isolationist or purely negative. Michael Foot was condemned in the largely Tory press as a pathetic old man of the left, but the real problem was that he was a man of the old left.

Until Foot's victory in the leadership race, the left had formed a kind of permanent opposition within the party. Never having had the responsibilities of power, even within their own party, Michael Foot's left was isolationist and anti-American, with a dwindling fringe of fellow-travelers. Their rallying cries were largely negative: throw away Britain's

nuclear weapons, get out of the Common Market, reverse the damage Thatcher has done to the welfare state, re-nationalize the companies she has sold off.

As party leader Kinnock must move away from this stance while remaining true to the left-wing and democratic socialist viewpoint that now dominates the party. Kinnock and some other young members of his shadow cabinet such as Michael Meacher and Stuart Holland represent a new generation of left-wing leaders who are trying to develop a positive appeal to the electorate.

Instead of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, Kinnock proposes a campaign for a nuclear-free Europe through united action by all of Europe's socialist parties. Instead of simple withdrawal from the Common Market (EEC), he calls for new and broader forms of European cooperation on a socialist basis, bringing in the Scandinavian countries now outside the Common Market. Instead of emphasizing nationalization and re-nationalization, he calls for greater industrial democracy and worker involvement in economic planning, and international planning for coordinated economic expansion.

Some people see this change of emphasis as a Wilson-style abandonment of principle. But Kinnock is fundamentally in sympathy with opinion in his party in a way that Harold Wilson was not. Closely associated with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, he refused to serve in the Labour government in the '70s because he disagreed with their defense policy.

Even more important than Kinnock's personal views are the shifts in public opinion on defense matters. The public backlash against the Cruise missile provides a great opportunity for Labour. Many Europeans suspect that NATO has outlived its usefulness, at least in its present form, but so far the left has been unable to suggest a plausible alternative. Kinnock argues that Britain—and the world—will be safer with an independent, nuclear-free conventionally armed Europe, and this alternative is beginning to sound more plausible. An independent group of defense experts, the British Atlantic Committee, recently suggested that technological developments have made a European non-nuclear defense both credible and affordable, and these views are receiving attention even within the Conservative Party. The argument that Britain is rapidly becoming little more than an American nuclear base, and that American nuclear weapons make nuclear war more rather than less likely, has great potential appeal.

Americans have a great stake in this debate, which is not so much about deterrence vs. unilateralism as about an Atlantic vs. a European orientation. The Cruise and Pershing missiles are as great a threat to Americans as to Europeans. Almost no one outside the European peace movement really believes in the possibility of a "theater" nuclear war limited to Europe. The Cruise and Pershing missiles exist to guarantee American involvement in a major European war. If the Red Army were to seize Nuremberg with conventional forces, NATO would almost certainly use nuclear weapons to stop them and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, would be incinerated shortly afterward.

If Neil Kinnock and other European socialists, inside and outside of government, can persuade a majority of Europeans to support an independent Europe making its own defense decisions, Americans will benefit as much as anyone. The obscure constitutional struggles within the Labour Party that thrust him and people like him into prominence may have surprising beneficial consequences far beyond Great Britain.

Jeffrey Cox is a historian now at the University of London.

British Labour's new leader may be in a stronger position to rebuild the party than press pundits and left intellectuals believe.

Packing the Civil Rights Commission ends consensus

By Tom Pugh

FOR MORE THAN 25 YEARS the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has exercised a profound influence on the nation's conscience and policy regarding its treatment of oppressed minority groups. The Commission's impact has reached far beyond what its paltry budget and lack of formal authority would indicate. A principal reason is that regardless of who served, the Commission constituted a bipartisan consensus that through objective, factfinding investigations, knowledge could be obtained that would enable the nation's policymakers to act aggressively to ameliorate discrimination.

The recent successful efforts of the White House to pack the Commission with Reagan loyalists—acknowledged by diverse observers from *The Nation* to *Newsweek*—has effectively destroyed that consensus. Despite protestations of independence by such White House appointees as Morris Abrams, John Bunzel and the Commission generally, the new members and staff director Linda Chavez make no effort to hide their loyalty to the Reagan administration and its approach to civil rights. If there was any question about the independence of the new Commission, Chairman Clarence Pendleton removed all doubts when he stated, in response to his critics, "Those up in arms tend to forget who won control of the Commission."

For almost four years the Reagan administration has consistently acted to undercut civil rights efforts. Courts have been asked to reconsider progressive decisions, federal enforcement agencies have had their budgets and staffs cut dramatically and new regulations have been proposed to dilute enforcement efforts. In the words of William L. Taylor, a former staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The white men who make and execute civil rights policy for Ronald Reagan are zealously trying to reverse the laws and policies of the past two decades."

At its first meeting in January and in other early pronouncements, the newly constituted U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (along with some unwitting assistance by the media) has resorted to blatant misrepresentation of current civil rights law and the positions of the previous Commission in its role as a presidential spokesman on civil rights.

For example, Morris Abrams, the new vice chairman, has referred to his predecessors as a "Johnnie-One-Note" Commission in reference to the misguided notion that it was singularly committed to busing and quotas as the solutions to illegal segregation in the nation's schools and job markets. In fact, that Commission was committed to full enforcement of the law, with whatever legal remedies are appropriate.

Linda Chavez, the new staff director, has written, "The Commission's past policy has been to endorse mandatory busing to achieve desegregation." But the Commission has consistently advocated a range of remedies, including voluntary ones, when they were sufficient to accomplish the task of remedying a violation of law. Among the remedies that courts have ordered is busing. As argued in the 1982 *Statement of the United States Commission on Civil Rights on School Desegregation*: "To the extent that a school desegregation plan can accomplish desegregation without the use of busing, it is constitutionally permissible. But if a

school desegregation plan requires transportation of students for effectiveness, then busing is required. To speak against busing in these circumstances is to speak against school desegregation. A right without a remedy simply is illusory."

In discussing the new Commission's rejection of quotas, Chavez was also quoted as stating that the former Commission was committed to "preference by color... that encourages the treatment of people

lem. The Commission wrote:

"The problem-remedy approach urges using the nature and extent of discrimination as the primary basis for deciding among possible remedies. The measure that most effectively remedies the identified discriminatory problem should be chosen."

It should be noted that the Commission is not, and never has been, a policy-making or law enforcement agency. It is an advisory commission. To the extent that school busing or quota systems have been implemented, they have been implemented either voluntarily or by the order of a court or other law enforcement agency, and then only after a violation of federal law has been proven.

Current controversies and ambiguities have not been aided by some of the local reporting of these developments. For example, in reporting the new Commission's rejection of quotas one television news anchor in Chicago "clarified" the term quotas as affirmative action plans. But quotas are required only in a small

in particular, cannot be solved by civil rights laws." The new Commission has eagerly accepted a congressional mandate to report on "the adverse consequences of affirmative action programs... upon... Americans who are members of eastern and southern-European ethnic groups." And the Commission pointed to "a general decline in academic standards which coincides with the advent of affirmative action in higher education" as a premise for studying such programs.

Statements like these caused Edward A. Watkins, president of American Federation of Government Employees' National Council of EEOC Locals to proclaim in the *New York Times*:

"EEOC employees increasingly perceive a crisis in federal civil rights enforcement, one that demands an independent and objective investigation of developments at their agency. The prospect of an investigation conducted by a civil rights commission that now openly professes a neo-conservative attitude can be of little reassurance."

PERSPECTIVES

MARGULIES



according to their race." Yet in its publication *Affirmative Action in the 1980s: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination*, the Commission argued repeatedly that the remedy for any violation of the nation's equal employment opportunity laws depends on the nature of the prob-

For 25 years the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has encouraged those committed to equality in the U.S. Reagan has now reversed this role.

proportion of existing affirmative action plans, and then only subsequent to a proven violation of law. Numerical goals, toward which only good faith efforts are required, may also be included in some plans.

But affirmative action also involves examination of an employer's entire range of personnel practices (e.g., recruitment, interviewing techniques, job descriptions and requirements, promotion and separation policies). Properly implemented affirmative action plans assure that personnel policies are in fact administered according to rational and objective criteria rather than subjective beliefs. A recent study of American business leaders by the Washington-based Center for National Policy found that most employers who have implemented affirmative action plans have found affirmative action to be good business practice.

To reject affirmative action generally because of antipathy to quotas is to disregard an entire range of affirmative remedies that can be implemented to eliminate employment discrimination. And to equate quotas with affirmative action is seriously to misinform an audience.

Despite these misrepresentations, there is no question that changes have occurred at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and that the agency is a far more pliant arm of the current administration than it has ever been before in its history. Staff director Chavez has claimed, "The problems facing minorities today, and blacks

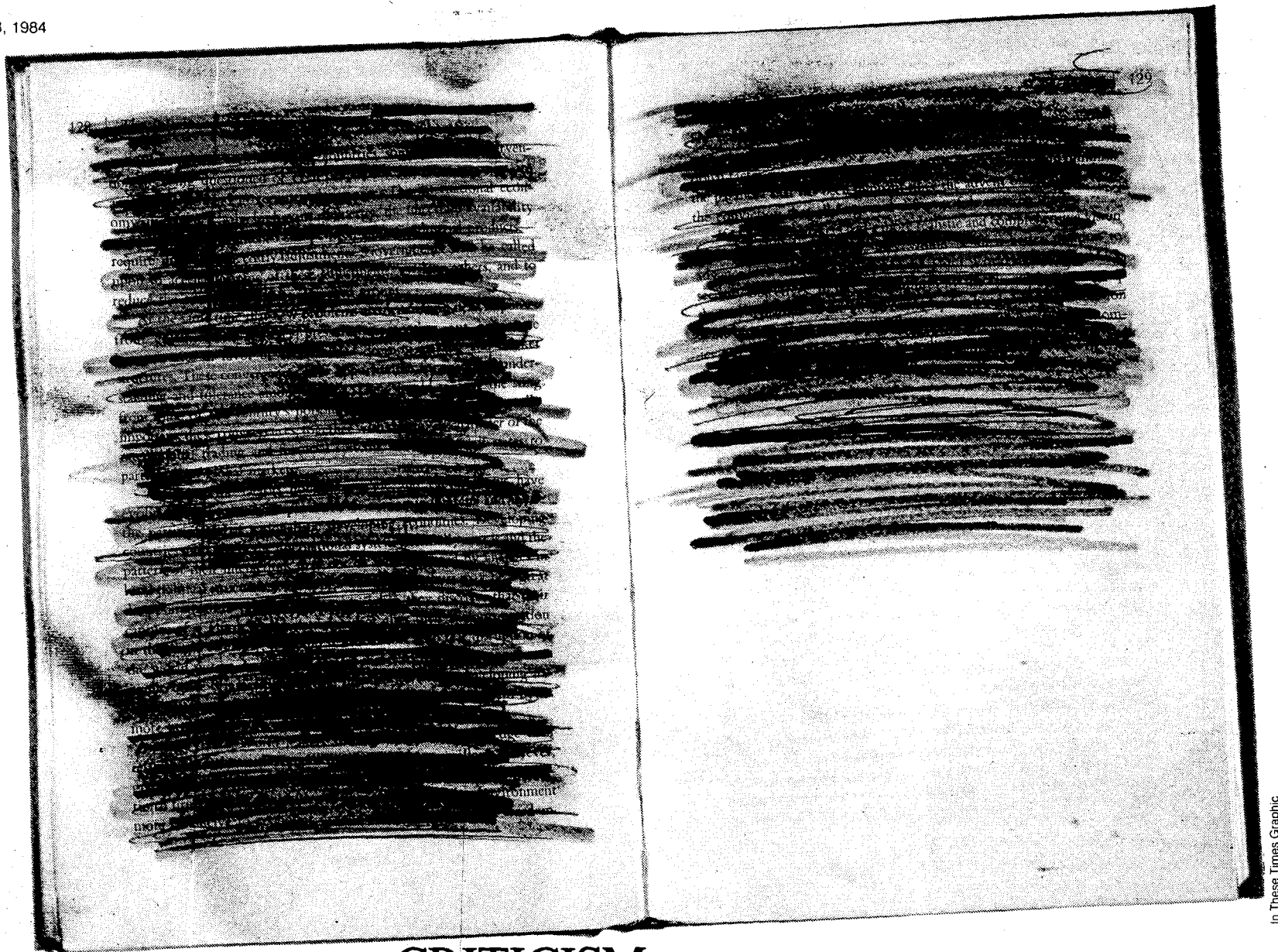
If misrepresentations on the part of the media have been fortuitous, the same cannot be said for the president and his Commission. As James Nathan Miller asked rhetorically in the February *Atlantic Monthly*:

"What do we make, then, of a president who assures us that he is 'unalterably opposed to discrimination in any form' but orders his Justice Department to argue in favor of giving tax subsidies to schools that discriminate; who takes credit for the passage of a law [the Voting Rights Act extension] that he lobbied against; who claims commitment to the appointment of minorities and women but brings about a drastic reduction in such appointments; and who says that he has been waging a campaign of aggressive litigation to enforce rights laws at the same time that he has staged a retreat from their enforcement on all significant fronts?"

The early initiatives of the new U.S. Commission on Civil Rights belie its proclamation that the agency "belongs to no one, will run interference for no one and will serve no political ideology or special interest." The vast majority of volunteers who serve on the Commission's advisory committees and of staff members in the agency sincerely hope that future actions by the Commission will live up to its pronouncements of independence.

Tom Pugh is chairman of the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

INPRINT



CRITICISM

Literary Theory: An Introduction

By Terry Eagleton
University of Minnesota Press,
244 pp. \$9.95

By Charles Sugnet

Literary Theory: An Introduction may not be anyone's idea of an appetizing title, but this is a remarkable and important book. Under cover of writing a primer on current literary criticism, British Marxist critic Terry Eagleton undoes his own field of inquiry by arguing that there is no such thing as "literature" and therefore no "literary theory."

This may sound like an esoteric topic, but it turns out to have a wide political significance. To begin with, Eagleton's conclusions should cause some useful consternation in the multi-million dollar literature industry—a complex of literature departments, textbooks and professors. Even to people quite far from academe, it has been apparent for several years that there was a crisis occurring in the literature business, partly in response to challenging ideas from Europe. Eagleton's pointed and easily accessible critique will help clarify why some of the professors aren't sure what they're supposed to be professing.

Using Marxist categories of analysis, Eagleton begins the book arguing that the special class of writing called "literature" is a relatively recent historical formation. He argues that a corresponding creation of an academic elite to regulate it benefitted the ruling class tremendously. By taking writing out of the historical context of its production, by insulating the aesthetic from the political, and by deflecting linguistic talent away from rebellious cultural analyses, "literature" has helped to pacify an otherwise unruly territory. An early chapter called "The Rise of English" describes the Victorian functions of literature this way: "Since literature, as we know, deals in universal human values

rather than in such historical trivia as civil wars, the oppression of women or the dispossession of the English peasantry, it could serve to place in cosmic perspective the petty demands of working people for decent living conditions. ...It would communicate to them the moral riches of bourgeois civilization [and] impress on them a reverence for middle-class achievements."

According to Eagleton, "literature" originates out of the kind of fears expressed by Matthew Arnold, a Victorian school inspector who believed that only the proper sort of education could prevent the lower classes from behaving uncontrollably. Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* makes clear the need for social control through acculturation.

Arnold's era.

Starting from Arnold's era, Eagleton treats the various kinds of criticism that have made a mark in literary study, including New Criticism, semiotics, structuralism and psychoanalysis. The common threads running through the various chapters are that literary theory is ahistorical and that literary theory has been a form of ideology that refuses to acknowledge its status as ideology.

The early portions of *Literary Theory*, where Eagleton deals with T.S. Eliot and F.R. Leavis, are wonderfully pungent. Psychoanalysis gets a long and sympathetically critical treatment because "what Freud produces, indeed, is nothing less than a materialist theory of the making of the human subject." In between, Eagleton conducts a polemical summary of various critical theories, restoring them to their historical place. Phenomenologists will be outraged to

find their subtle body of theory summed up, critiqued and dismissed in a few pages. Ditto for the various other critical schools. A book of this type is always open to the charge that it has failed to do justice to one theory or another. And how could it be expected to in a text of just 216 pages? But such complaints miss the point, for I doubt very much that Eagleton wants to "do justice" to the various theories competing under critical pluralism.

The writing of *Literary Theory* was a political act, and it is Eagleton's strongly held point of view that makes the book worthwhile. In a certain odd way, Eagleton's Marxist "bias" makes him a useful introducer—a beginning student would understand more of what made the New Criticism distinctive from Eagleton's attack on it than from reading a "neutral" account (one whose ideology was veiled).

Some of *Literary Theory*'s contents have been anticipated by other critics. Fredric Jameson's Marxist attack on structuralism in *The Prison-House of Language*, for example, or Frank Lentricchia's *After the New Criticism*, makes some of Eagleton's points. Eagleton's book brings together and articulates, as a good introduction can do, tendencies and stirrings not yet synthesized. And it is different in tone from the remoteness of academic Marxists like Jameson.

Eagleton's prose always manages to suggest the relations between cultural study and the practicalities of politics. His book on the Bronte novels, for instance, was dedicated to the struggling miners in Yorkshire—not the sort of dedication one is used to seeing on academic press books.

Eagleton's style is direct, ag-

gressive, sometimes funny. Literature, according to the deconstructionists, he says, can never do more than talk endlessly about the failure of language, "like some barroom bore." Reflecting on the problems of replacing Greek and Latin at Oxbridge with 'English literature, Eagleton observes that "since English was no more than idle gossip about literary taste, it was difficult to know how to make it unpleasant enough to qualify as a proper academic pursuit." Then comes the punch line: "This is one of the few problems asso-

The author's Marxist bias is useful here.

ciated with the study of English that have since been effectively resolved."

If most of the theoretical problems have not been resolved, if "literature" cannot be satisfactorily defined as an object of study, does Eagleton suggest that the literature teachers disband and leave their offices to the engineers or the economists? Not exactly. He suggests instead that literary studies be dissolved into a wider field, which he would be happy to call "cultural studies," or analysis of "discursive practices" (after French historian Michel Foucault) or even old-fashioned "rhetoric." This new field of study would be free to analyze Milton's blank verse, but it would be equally free to examine the way women are presented in advertising or the rhetorical techniques used in government reports. *Moby Dick*, John Dryden, the Muppets and Jean-Luc

Godard would all be fit objects for study.

Again, this is not an entirely new suggestion, though it is thoroughly argued here. At least since Roland Barthes published his series of *Mythologies* (brief newspaper analyses of everything from soap boxes to movie stars), the field of inquiry open to literary critics has been widening. (More than a decade ago, my own English department had a heated debate about whether to hire a professor who had done traditional work on literary classics but who was moving into film criticism. The traditionalists won that debate, on grounds that movies had nothing to do with "English." Today, such a discussion would be unlikely to take place at all—a high quality film critic would simply be welcome.)

Eagleton acknowledges that the kind of cultural analysis he'd like to see is already being done, and one sign of this is his way of discussing Marxism and feminism. Eagleton endorses both of these critical practices enthusiastically, yet neither is given a chapter of its own. Eagleton says this is because he wants to prevent his readers from making what he calls a "category mistake," from assuming that feminism and Marxism are literary theories like the others discussed in the book. Eagleton offers feminism and Marxism not as alternative literary theories, but as alternatives to literary theory: both take a wider cultural object of analysis than "literature"; both are overtly ideological; and both are connected to actual political movements making social change. For all these reasons, they exemplify the type of pursuit Eagleton hopes will replace literature and literary theory. The book could have been called *Literary Theory: An Introduction and a Farewell*, though Eagleton obviously thinks certain tools of analysis should be salvaged from the existing literary theories and used by the new discipline he proposes.

Charles Sugnet teaches literature at the University of Minnesota.

Patrons Despite Themselves:**Taxpayers and Arts Policy**

By Alan L. Feld, Michael O'Hare and J. Mark Davidson Schuster
A Twentieth Century Fund Report, New York University Press, 263 pp., \$29.50

By Rachel C. Kranz

Patrons Despite Themselves is a useful book. It purposefully offers a great deal of data on how tax law provides public money to subsidize the arts by the rich. And, unintentionally, it reveals the absurdity of a system that reduces art to a marketable commodity.

Patrons was commissioned by the Twentieth Century Fund, a foundation for public policy research whose board includes such liberal dignitaries as Matina Horner, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Hodding Carter III. Authors Alan L. Feld, Michael O'Hare and J. Mark Davidson Schuster teach law, public policy and urban studies at Boston University, Harvard and MIT, respectively. In their preface they explain that the study was inspired by a chance remark made by a trustee of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to then-planning consultant Michael O'Hare. "But Mr. O'Hare," protested the trustee, aghast at plans to increase the museum's attendance, "if you do all these things, [people] will all just come here in droves and be all over the place!"

"How is this [attitude toward the public] possible in a public institution heavily subsidized by government aid?" the authors wondered. It is this classically liberal attitude of righteous indignation and naivete that shapes this study.

The premises of *Patrons Despite Themselves* should come as no surprise to anyone remotely familiar with arts funding in the U.S. By allowing arts donors to deduct their contributions, the government forfeits a portion of tax money that it would otherwise collect. This constitutes a government subsidy to the arts. Further, the existence of deductions encourages donors to give money that they might otherwise spend elsewhere—an "induced gift."

These subsidies are free from the kinds of democratic controls that normally accompany public funds. Elected representatives do not have any control over the uncollected taxes, nor which arts should receive the subsidies nor any form of control—such as affirmative action or community access codes—over the subsidized groups.

The people writing and sponsoring this book are very much inside the network of donors and lawyers, administrators and consultants that manage America's system of the arts. Which makes one wonder, why this study, why now? Is this just another one of those liberal critiques that foundations produce periodically, without effect? Or is there some crisis in arts funding, some imminent challenge to the system, that the Twentieth Century Fund hopes to avert by getting there first with its modest reforms? In either case, it's unlikely that the book's proposals will be adopted; modest though they are, the suggested changes in tax law must seem to arts people as radical as the imposition of the income tax itself.

Patrons studiously avoids sweeping social analysis, limiting its focus to analysis of various

data on arts funding. Thus the reader interested in a broader portrait must draw conclusions from several unreconciled sets of statistics. Sometimes the relevant category is people with annual incomes above \$50,000, sometimes it's the \$100,000 range, sometimes it's the super-rich, families taking in more than \$1,000,000 a year. *Patrons* makes it easy to say "the rich" control our arts, but the definition of "rich" keeps changing. (An added complication is that income figures are pre-1975. I did a double-take when the authors referred to \$15,000 as a solid mid-class salary.)

Still, some generalizations do emerge from the data. In 1973, families earning more than \$50,000 were far more likely to give to the arts than were those earning less than \$15,000, who tended to favor religious organizations. Thus the existence of indirect arts subsidies is from the beginning an allocation of (potential) tax money directed by the rich. And because the rich are taxed at a higher rate, their gifts "cheat" the public out of a bigger share of taxes than lower-income families' donations do. Indirect government aid is almost entirely directed by a small number of wealthy donors. In 1973, close to three-fourths of the half-billion dollars of indirect public arts subsidies was controlled by less than 5 percent of the nation's families.

The rich dominate these indirect subsidies in different ways. First, because they have more, they give tax-subsidized gifts. As art collectors, they can contribute gifts of property as a capital gains write-off, winning still more tax savings, plus a measure of influence over their beneficiaries. In addition to sheer financial

clout, donors often direct arts groups through elaborate restrictions placed on their gifts. The case of Lehman Pavillion—where New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art built an entire replica of Robert Lehman's mansion to house his collection—is only the most famous example of the control tax-subsidized donations can buy.

The symbiotic relationship between the arts and the rich can be seen in almost every aspect of arts administration, Feld *et al.* argue. To start at the top, trustees are almost invariably wealthy people—not to mention overwhelmingly white, middle-aged and educated at Ivy/Little

disproportionate control, whereby a \$100 donation represents \$50 in uncollected taxes from someone in the 50 percent tax bracket, but only \$14 from someone in a lower bracket. Like good liberals, the authors also object to the inefficiency of it all—the anarchic distribution of artistic goods by wealthy donors whose influence allows them to wreak havoc with the orderly function of the free market. The Met might have preferred to auction off some of the Lehman collection, for example, making those works that duplicated its existing holdings available to museums that needed them more. A donor who chooses to give an arts

group money to buy a building (and the tax laws also favor ownership over rental) may be committing that group to years of scrambling for operating expense money, at the sacrifice of other programs that might benefit the public more.

At times, *Patrons* seems to be on the verge of a "radical" critique of American arts funding. "But even with the best of donor motives, fundamental questions remain: Why should the tastes of the rich determine the expenditure of government support for charities?" But the authors' commitment to the one-dollar/one-vote theory of funding prevents them from proposing any

ARTS FUNDING

The rich, the super rich and art for money's sake

Ivy schools. Thomas Hoving, a prominent trustee on several boards, became somewhat famous for remarking that "any trustee should be able to write a check for \$3 million and not even feel it."

Museum curators often advise potential donors on acquiring new work, even staging shows that may enhance the value of a private collection. The donor enjoys the work privately for years as its value goes up, then realizes a substantial tax savings by donating an "appreciated investment property" to the museum.

Finally, *Patrons* points out that the chief beneficiaries of this publicly subsidized art are rela-

group money to buy a building (and the tax laws also favor ownership over rental) may be committing that group to years of scrambling for operating expense money, at the sacrifice of other programs that might benefit the public more.

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of its neighbor to the south.

Or we might view the arts as a source of employment, like the old Works Progress Associations of the '30s or the late, lamented CETA arts programs used to do. Going on principles of affirmative action, we might consider the arts as a form of political representation, or as a service to which every community has a right, just as it should be entitled to city councilors, teachers, doctors, drawn from its own.

Public funding in a private economy is a complicated issue, particularly under a government that can allocate three times as much to the Defense Department's marching bands as the



Is this just another liberal critique of arts funding or is it a study that hopes to avert a crisis with reforms?

tively well-off, highly educated people. In 1974-75, people with incomes of more than \$15,000 were over-represented in attendance at arts institutions, while those earning less than \$15,000 were under-represented. Most of the arts institutions in the U.S. are maintained by the rich for the benefit of the educated middle classes at the expense of the lower-income taxpayer, the authors dishearteningly conclude.

Good liberals.

What do Feld, O'Hare and Schuster propose? Well, they don't object to rich people controlling some government monies. What they do mind is their

reform more left than a few changes in the tax system, whereby citizens of whatever income will benefit in equal proportion from their deductible contributions.

The absurdity of the market approach to arts is nowhere more evident than when *Patrons* discusses museums, which actually do deal in commodities operating on a wildly fluctuating, profitable and unpredictable international market, an upscale parody of trade in grain or livestock. Was there a cold spell last winter? Did the Met just sponsor a Rothko retrospective? Has Mr. Jones III donated his entire collection of Hoppers to the Whit-

National Education Association's music budget will see in a year. But the answers won't be found in tinkering with the tax structure, or in hoping that administrators can withstand the influence of the donors who pay their fuel bills. *Patrons Despite Themselves* offers a wealth of statistics on how the rich use our money to control the arts, but for ideas on restructuring the system, you'll have to look elsewhere.

Rachel C. Kranz was arts reporter for Minnesota Public Radio and is currently on the organizing committee of District 65 UAW at Columbia University.

By Andrew Ross

SAN FRANCISCO

Right now, video music looks like "the most important revolution in rock music since the introduction of the electric guitar," says veteran rock promoter Bill Graham. But it may end up somewhere between Pac Man and the hula hoop.

Rock videos sprang up all over television in 1983. An industry newsletter counted close to 250 separate programs—from the giant MTV to small local shows. And they're spreading to movie houses, bowling alleys, bars and even live concerts.

Rolling Stone magazine, which just published a blistering attack on MTV, nonetheless spoke of its "utter primacy" in 1983, comparing it to "the ascendancy of punk and disco in 1977."

And video music received the ultimate official notice—a *Time* magazine cover—and a pronouncement from the *New York Times* that MTV "set the trends for the music industry" in 1983.

Left undiscussed, however, is the possibility that video music may be headed for the scrap heap of passed fancies.

"We're famous for killing our own business with an avalanche of schlock," says one record company executive, commenting on the unimaginative quality of most rock videos.

Graham Whisler, a video producer, agrees. "If they don't stop showing four guys staring wistfully at busty models, people might just stop watching them." Many critics have been annoyed at the repetition of trite images, "macho posturing, sexy dames" as one puts it.

Some worry that video will affect music. Whisler notes that musicians now "have to be actors, and there's a whole new species in the rock business—the video director who can make or break the act by the quality of the video."

Nancy Stevens, a producer with Videowest, a firm that pioneered rock video, says, "Record companies now assess the video potential of a group before signing them. So you've got to

ROCK VIDEO

The thrill is going

MTV costs \$30 million a year but returns only half that to money-losing Warner-Amex.

have a video clip, and it costs \$20,000 to produce anything decent. Many groups won't make it."

Rocketing costs may be another limiting factor. The average price tag is now about \$50,000. Michael Jackson's 13-minute "Thriller" video cost \$1 million—including \$250,000 from MTV for exclusive first-run rights.

"Now it's an arms race at MTV to see who can spend the most on video," says Whisler.

A big reason—perhaps the main reason—for the boom is that rock videos, for the most part, have been offered free to the outlets by the record companies, which see them as sales tools.

But they're getting restive at escalating costs. "Look, videos have been a magnificent success for many of our acts, like ZZ Top, Prince and Elton John,"

says a Warner Communications marketing executive. "But we've still got to find a way of covering our costs."

That may be easier said than done. MTV still is losing money almost three years after it was launched to the tune of \$20 million by Warner-Amex, a joint effort by Warner Communications and American Express, which has extensive holdings in the shaky cable TV sector.

MTV costs about \$30 million a year but returns only about half that to Warner-Amex—which lost \$65 million last year. "If MTV doesn't make a profit in the next 18 months, one of us is going to pull out," predicts a

Warner executive.

Media analyst Les Brown thinks MTV is hampered by the limitation of cable TV itself. "Even though every cable operator knows it's a hit," he says, "it's not on every cable system, and it still doesn't reach a large enough audience to really attract national advertisers."

One Warner Communications official thinks the problem involves the audience it does reach. "It's no use advertising beer to a pre-teen."

But if video music has any cultural or social significance, for better or worse, it may be in relation to the pre-teens.

"It's the first example of post-TV literacy," says Whisler. "The people doing them grew up on television."

Now we're turning around and educating a whole generation of kids to watch event images and people images, giving

them so many strong hooks that they'd rather watch a three- or four-minute video than a full hour, or even a half-hour program that has a beginning a middle and an end."

"My 11-year-old nephew in Poughkeepsie knows rock bands only as videos—not songs, not concerts, but videos," says Howie Klein of 415 Records, which specializes in new wave bands.

How much longer will the pre-teens and the rest of the world continue to sit still for even those three or four minutes? That depends on the product itself. As sociologist Todd Gitlin observes in his new book about prime time television, "Sooner or later, the mass audience, having gone along with the fad, grows weary, bored, resentful—in its odd way, discriminating. It takes its revenge."

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PBS

Mobil and the masterclass

By Eric Mankin

Masterpiece Theater is now entering its 13th year on what FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson used to call the Petroleum Broadcasting System, and the oil seems to be having an effect. Nobody who has seen any of the packages of culture previously imported to these shores by the Mobil Oil Corporation will be surprised to learn that the latest batch of mini-series are (a) set in the picturesque past, (b) are about people with money and/or position and (c) take a tolerant, affectionate view of traditional British institutions and the structure of English life.

We're going to get things like *The Irish R.M.* (happy Irishmen with brogues, twinkling eyes and leprechaun hats matching wits with a stuffy but decent British magistrate in the 1890s). Or *Nan-*

cy Astor, which concerns the political career of the American-born wife of the richest man in England in the early decades of this century. Or *Tales of Beatrix Potter*, a biography of the bucolic life of the creator of Peter Rabbit. We'll likewise be getting *Reilly, Ace of Spies*, a waxwork about a British superagent defending Western civilization.

The big hit on British television during the past year was a six-part series called *The Boys from the Black Stuff*, about a gang of road-workers in modern-day England, which put a catchphrase into modern English: "Give us a job," pronounced "G's a job." Not likely to show up soon on *Masterpiece Theater*.

Almost all the British shows shown on PBS come through WGBH in Boston, usually through producer Joan Wilson. Wilson works for WGBH, but her constant collaborator and the

source of the funding for her British TV purchases is Herb Schmertz, head propagandist (his official title is vice president in charge of public affairs) for Mobil Oil Company.

Schmertz and Wilson make buying trips together to the Mother Country to bring back masterpieces for the tube. "A lot of things I buy, he doesn't see, but we remain in constant communication," Wilson said in a recent conversation. "I am on the staff of GBH, and I have worked with other funders and foundations, but [the relationship with Schmertz] is very much a collaborative and harmonious relation."

What about the consistent flavor of the offerings, the leaning toward the upperclass?

"I know what you're talking about, and I have three answers. First, I really think that any good drama appeals to everyone. Second, I am very concerned about a loss of continuity in our shared heritage. This used to come from a classic education and from religious training. But in the last decade, when education became so liberalized, I really think we had a loss. Third, public television has a mandate to offer alternative programming"—and, she said, *Masterpiece* shows do this.

While Wilson claims "final

judgment as to the material we want to use," she has "never recommended anything Mobil has vetoed."

Mobil spends about \$7 million buying and packaging British products for American consumption. For a product-advertising budget, this isn't a large amount at all: big advertisers like Procter and Gamble have ad budgets in

It's no coincidence that Masterpiece Theater includes all kinds of second-rate, up-the-empire hokum.

the hundreds of millions of dollars. But PBS gives this money leverage. For a relatively small investment, Mobil receives the use of something like 50 hours of public television time. It would be ludicrous to argue that Mobil presentations like *King Lear* or Gilbert and Sullivan operettas represent a concealed ideological agenda. It would be equally ludicrous, though, to say that a lot of the stuff that goes on *Masterpiece Theater* isn't pretty conservative, in quite an overt way.

It doesn't seem like coincidence that the *Masterpieces* include all kinds of second-rate, up-the-empire hokum, while they haven't gotten around to airing work by some of the less tolerant observers of the British historical scene—H.G. Wells, for example, or George Orwell (something other than 1984 or *Animal Farm*).

It would be equally predictable to have *Working Class Misery Playhouse*, but there doesn't seem to be much danger of that—not unless there is a corporation out there willing to spring millions of dollars to interest British television in a very different set of themes than the ones we have seen on a decade of *Masterpiece Theater*.

Eric Mankin writes a media column for the *L.A. Weekly*.

By Pat Aufderheide

The feature documentary *The Good Fight*, is an oral history of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which sent more than 3,000 men and women to aid the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War. It's a sturdy example of the now-familiar oral history film, combining archival footage overlaid with a trustworthy-sounding narrator (Studs Terkel in an anonymous third-person style), interspersed with the recollections of people who lived that history.

Its professional quality—here's an independent documentary you can seriously use the term "production values" with—has something to do with the seasoning of the filmmakers, and something to do with their persistence. Codirectors Mary Dore and Noel Buckner, directors of *Children of Labor*, have worked for public TV. Sam Sills, a veteran of the independent film movement, helped edit the documentary about black activist Ella Baker, *Fundi*. All three worked on the film with piecemeal funding from 1977 to 1983.

The legend of the Lincoln Brigade, part of an international outpouring of 45,000 volunteers from all over the world (including escapees from fascist Germany and Italy), is one of the left's favorite heroic episodes—ranking with the Wobblies and the early history of the CIO. But in mainstream history it has, Dore charges, been "obliterated." The work of historian Robert Rosenstone, who co-wrote narration on this, is an exception.

At the time, not only the Brigade but the entire war was a blind spot for media. Cameras were there to capture the reality—and didn't. When the Spanish military backed by burgeoning fascist powers Germany and Italy overthrew a republican, democratically elected government in Spain, European and American governments participated in an embargo of military and economic aid to the Republicans. News agencies followed their example. British newsreels of the time, for instance, were strongly biased against the Republican cause. In the U.S., when left film groups decided to put together agitprop film, they couldn't find any news footage that wasn't pro-Fascist. They scraped together funds to send their own film teams over.

While films like Joris Ivens' *The Spanish Earth* and Frontier Films' *Heart of Spain* struggled unsuccessfully for booking in theaters, Hollywood staged tear-jerkers and morality plays in a mythical Spain. The result was typified by *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which James Agee reviewed in disgust: "When fascists were actually mentioned, the one time they are, the context makes it clear that they are just Italians who, with German Nazis and those dirty Russian Communists, are bullying each other and poor little Spain, which wants only peace and quiet."

The issue tore apart the intellectual community, and precipitated hot political battles in moviemaking circles. (Read all about it in Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund's superb *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community 1930-60*, finally in paperback.) And yet Hollywood, ever resistant to politics, managed never to mention the existence of the Lincoln Brigades, or address American "neutrality" in its six features made about the Spanish Civil War. Probably the closest any of the

films came was in *Blockade*, written by leftist John Howard Lawson (there's a snippet of it in this film). Henry Fonda makes a passionate speech asking, "Where's the conscience of the world?"—a righteous question, but not much of a political insight.

If the populist-but-not-political strain in American pop culture kept the Spanish Civil War from becoming part of every schoolboy's knowledge, McCarthyism and the '50s made that ignorance a certainty, because the Communist Party had been instrumental in mobilizing American popular opinion against the war and had swelled the ranks of the Lincoln Brigade.

The challenge for any historian—and especially a historian working in the emotion-soaked medium of film—is to recapture the love and pain and above all the contingency of "then," while avoiding a triple-threat: mawkish sentimentality that mirrors Hollywood, mindless patriotic cheerleading (that in the U.S. often amounts to redbaiting) and the plodding earnestness that makes "our history" movies just as ploddingly tedious as anything dished up in civics class. The job is not only to recover good material, but to discover a new way for us to see it.

The Good Fight takes us part way there. It impressively balances the emotion and drama of well-told tales with a critical analysis of their context. And if it doesn't give us a new way of seeing, it does a far better job working with traditional styles than many recent films—indeed, than much narrative history on less hot topics turned out for public TV consumption.

Like *Seeing Red*, the film draws its great strength from interviews with old leftists, who are as good as commercials for the Good Life through Leftism. As one woman says, "I've done my part but I'll never be old." As he did in *Seeing Red*, longshoreman Bill Bailey steals the show every time he gets on camera, with his gruff frank tones and his vivid, earthy stories. True, maybe the filmmakers just got the best and the brightest, and they did have 125 taped interviews to choose from by the time they were done researching. (But if out of 125, say, accountants you could find 11 this interesting, it would be a hell of a recommendation for a career in accounting.)

Everyone will have personal favorites among the 11, but no one will leave without a burning image of Hutchins, whose old photos show a blonde, angular-featured woman with an elegant way of wearing khaki, standing next to the ambulance that she had to stare down a local Brigade board to be allowed to drive. (The machinery had been regarded as too complicated for a woman.) "Women have always worked hard. Don't forget that," she says today with the kind of asperity that must have shamed the board into shelving their objections.

Everyone will have favorite stories, too, many of them classics of what-I-did-in-the-war—some offering a rare angle. For instance, several volunteers recount how they told—or didn't tell—their mothers they were going off to someone else's war. (Too few returned; the Brigade had something like a 70 percent mortality rate.)

One great story recounts a visit by pompous, exhortatory dignitaries to hospitalized soldiers. After a particularly longwinded call to further heroism by then-



The Good Fight

FILM

The Good Fight: for whom the film rolls

CPUSA President Earl Browder. one veteran recalls, the men burst into song. "We're a bunch of bastards," they sang to entertain their guests, "and we'd rather fuck than fight for liberty!" When Browder misinterpreted their pique as low morale and threatened to order them all home, they cheered him on. The

behind the anecdotes. We find out why they went, and why they stayed to sometimes fight without weapons in battles where two-thirds of the volunteers might die.

Many were moved by simple injustice, or as Ed Balchowsky puts it, "I didn't need politics to see that people were being op-

pressed.

Still, these are not just spunky old folks who used to be idealistic young folks. They had—and have—respect and criticism for the organization that made their part in the Spanish Civil War possible—the Communist Party. In narration and interview the film reveals some of the Party's foibles and weaknesses—the male chauvinism Hutchins experienced, the blowhard rhetoric, the appointment of "political commissars" to keep order among troops. But it also shows why both the CP and the Soviet Union were widely respected in Spain. Only the USSR was delivering concrete aid to the embattled Republicans—including the Americans among them. It made them think that the USSR had priorities they shared. (Like all the recent left history films, however, this one skirts the devastating longrange effects on the American left of the CP's close liaison with Russia.)

The Good Fight thus provides a modest platform on which the passions of the past can be portrayed, with no apologies and no condemnations. Viewers are even left to draw their own conclusions about the significance of the American government's neutrality.

The Good Fight may be as good as you get in this style. Studiously avoiding even minimal play with film form, in conception it is not far from a lecture-slide show, with the great advantage that the filmmakers have been able to let us sit on their shoulders while they get the raw data for their essay-narrative. In many ways, ironically, the film is less formally daring than documentaries made at the time—scenes from them intercut with archival footage here, contrast sharply with the cooler tone of this history. What carries the film is the vitality of the interview subjects and the intelligence of the interviewers.

THE GOOD FIGHT is distributed by First Run Features, 144 Bleecker St., New York, NY 10012. (212) 673-6881.

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The Good Fight

Evelyn Hutchins fought the Lincoln Brigade board's chauvinism to drive an ambulance in Spain.

man could not take a joke.

The film doesn't take these characters at their face value, nor does it settle for the indisputable color of the well-told war story. Narration and interviews search

In the '30s, left groups couldn't find Spanish Civil War footage that wasn't pro-fascist.

pressed in Spain." Some were terrified by the rolling advance of fascism, and foresaw a global struggle if Spain fell. Some believed the Party's workers-of-the-world-unite logic. As Bailey says, "That was your brother over there in Addis Abbaba." What Evelyn Hutchins remembers is that Republican Spain had been a ray of hope in a season of ugly news, that it had been a place where children were going to school free and women were voting.

So recollections of the Republicans' retreat and then defeat are important. "It makes you ask that question, is it possible to win the good fight?" one asks bleakly. Yet they weather these and other horrors: by the end of the movie two veterans are seen heading off on the spur of the moment to picket Nazis in



Wastes

Continued from page 7

owners of such companies—who don't blink at dumping thousands of gallons of cyanide in the middle of a residential neighborhood—often appear as upstanding citizens in their communities. One such dumper was a member of his school board and a past officer of the Lions Club.

Then there are the "brokers"—operators with an office and a phone but no trucks of their own—who handle arrangements between hazardous waste generators and waste haulers, a kind of new industrial matchmaker. Add to that the pervasive involvement of organized crime in the lucrative hazardous waste hauling business and you've got a murky underworld that many prosecutors prefer to avoid.

To make matters worse, under the Reagan administration the federal authorities who could be providing the leadership to spark such prosecutions have been quiescent. While the number of criminal prosecutions recommended by EPA and brought by the Justice Department has increased since 1979, it's still minuscule. Last year the state of New Jersey convicted more hazardous waste violators than the federal government did nationwide.

And the number of criminal cases recommended since William Ruckelshaus replaced Anne Gorsuch Burford has fallen off drastically. Ruckelshaus was so ticked off he recently upbraided his enforcement staff at EPA, pounding on the table and charging that they had displayed a "lack of serious commitment for enforcing the law. He complained that instead of finding 'a bunch of tigers in the tank' eager to pursue violators, there 'may be more pussycats in the tank than tigers.'"

The federal government has not even pursued civil cases aggressively, but sought voluntary compliance through negotiations and settlements—what one prosecutor bitterly called "mere wrist-slapping."

Then, too, there is the oft-repeated rationalization of state bureaucrats who regulate the hazardous waste industry that "you can't come down too hard" on the companies involved in transporting toxic wastes. If regulations are too expensive and difficult to meet, they say, you'll just force them to resort to illegal mid-night dumping.

Going after criminals.

But a growing number of aggressive state and local prosecutors are refusing to buy that rationale. Instead, they are prosecuting unlawful toxic waste disposal under traditional criminal charges such as bribery, racketeering and "risking a catastrophe." They are going after the white-collar criminals—the business executives who run the companies and reap the enormous profits—and sending them to jail.

• Under the direction of Los Angeles City Attorney Ira Reiner, head of a special "strike force" created to crack down on illegal toxic dumping, a 341-count criminal complaint was recently brought against Todd Shipyards, one of the nation's largest shipbuilding firms, for "unlawful transportation, storage and disposal" of electrical transformers containing polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). The charges could result in \$14 million in fines. But Reiner, who last year successfully convicted and sentenced the presi-

dent of a Culligan International Co. franchise, the water softener firm, to a jail term for illegal dumping, is not just interested in fines. "There's nothing like jail," Reiner told the *Washington Post*. "A fine, no matter how substantial, is seen by these people as simply the cost of doing business."

• Working with the City Water Department, Assistant District Attorney David Michelman successfully pursued and prosecuted the people responsible for illegally dumping 1.6 million gallons of hazardous waste at the city-operated Fort Mifflin Landfill. Three executives of waste hauling companies were convicted of bribery and sentenced to prison terms, including Ellis M. Barnhouse, the 67-year-old owner and operator of ABM Disposal Service Company. Barnhouse, a fugitive for two years before being caught, was sentenced in August 1983 to one and a half to five years in the state penitentiary and ordered to pay the city \$250,000. "Even though Barnhouse caused more than \$11 million in damages, it was still an uphill battle obtaining the sentence," Michelman declared. "Judges don't like to send old men to jail, no matter how horrendous the crime. Yet anything short of a severe jail sentence would have been hopelessly ineffective as a deterrent."

• New Jersey, a state notorious for its illegal dump sites, has instituted an aggressive program to train county prosecutors in the intricacies of criminally prosecuting hazardous waste dumpers. Under the direction of Steven J. Madonna, deputy attorney general of the New Jersey Division of Criminal Justice, more than 1,500 police officers and local prosecutors were trained in 1983. "We want to make hazardous waste cases [as simple as] bread-and-butter cases," he said. Already, Madonna claims, the program has resulted in a number of indictments.

The admirable efforts of prosecutors in Philadelphia, Los Angeles and New Jersey are at the "cutting edge" of hazardous waste criminal prosecution. But they have barely made a dent in the gargantuan problem of illicit hazardous waste disposal.

"The problem is so widespread," Barry Groveman, an attorney with the Los Angeles strike force, told *L.A. Magazine*, "that if the strike force were a small corporation that had just gone into business and all the violators out there represented potential customers, we'd make a public offering, we'd be going onto the stock market and I think we'd be a Fortune 500 company within three years."

"All that is needed is the will to enforce the law," declared Los Angeles City Attorney Ira Reiner. "Corporate executives [responsible for illegal dumping] ... need to hear the slam of the jail door behind them."

The case of Manfred Derewal.

The sordid case of Manfred Derewal illustrates how ineffective civil sanctions can be in halting toxic crimes. Derewal, an all-star when it came to illegal dumping, first got into trouble for dumping chemicals into Bucks County, Pa., during the late '60s and early '70s.

A series of civil enforcement actions forced him to move to nearby Philadelphia. Then, in 1974, when the Philadelphia Water Department caught him stealing water to flush chemicals down the drain into the sewer system, civil charges once again forced him to move—this time to North Carolina. When he was chased out of North Carolina for dumping chemicals, he went to New Jersey, and when authorities forced him to leave there, too, he returned to Bucks County.

Finally, Bucks County prosecuted him criminally under the state Clean Streams Law for failing to have a "pollution incident prevention plan." He was the first person ever convicted of that violation and sentenced to jail.

But Derewal didn't let that stop him. While out on bail pending appeal, he returned to Philadelphia and set up a chemical storage and dumping area.

The location was ideal: a run-down warehouse amidst a cluster of abandoned industrial buildings in the city's northeastern section, with direct connections to the sewer system and the Delaware River. He brought in 3,000-gallon truckloads of concentrated sulfuric and nitric acids laced with pesticide residues and poured them down drains that went into the sewer and the river.

After receiving complaints from a nearby chemical company that the ice on the Delaware River was turning orange, the Philadelphia Water Department began to investigate.

Several nights later, the Philadelphia police discovered one of Derewal's trucks backed up to the Delaware River, well past midnight, dumping the acid directly into the river. The truck driver and helpers were arrested along with Derewal, who was parked a block away in a car monitoring the operation with a CB radio.

The 500,000 gallons of chemical poisons Derewal had dumped into the river had come from major corporations as far away as Rhode Island and South Carolina. These companies had apparently avoided asking Derewal too many questions about his "secret and inexpensive" way to dispose of the acids.

When David Michelman was first handed the Manfred Derewal case, he tried to figure out what were the most appropriate criminal offenses to prosecute him for—and send him to jail. "At the time," as Michelman recalled, "the state environmental laws that were available were next to worthless." The Solid Waste Act had penalties of \$300 a day for violations but no jail sentences; a Clean Streams Law carried up to \$2,500 in fines and one year in jail. The problem was that in Philadelphia, a case involving criminal penalties under five years in jail was automatically handled by Municipal Court, and chances of a jail sentence in Municipal Court, Michelman explained, "were about a million to one."

Michelman finally decided to charge Derewal with "risking a catastrophe," a felony charge making it a crime to recklessly use or release any kind of destructive force—such as chemicals, radiation or poisonous gas—in such a way that it would risk widespread injuries to persons or property.

Derewal was dumping the poisons only four miles from the Torresdale water filtration plant, risking contamination of the drinking water supply for most of northeast Philadelphia. In his warehouse were hundreds of drums filled with chemicals—a veritable toxic nightmare waiting to explode. Drums of sodium cyanide sat corroding in puddles of spilled nitric acid. Barrels of thionyl chloride, which explodes upon contact with water, sat fuming under an open hole in the roof and wall, exposed to rain and snow. Had the nitric acid interacted with the sodium cyanide and the other chemical elements, it would have created a deadly gas, requiring the evacuation of an entire section of the city.

But Derewal's case never came to trial. He chose to cooperate with the U.S. Attorney's office, pleading guilty to charges of having violated the federal Water Pollution Control Act, in part to avoid Michelman's charges of "risking a catastrophe." A judge ruled that it would be double jeopardy for Derewal to personally face state charges after having already been convicted of related federal charges. "We were only partially successful in prosecuting this case," Michelman admits. "But we learned that we could effectively adapt traditional criminal laws [to deal with toxic waste problems]."

Philadelphia's environmental enforcement program has been successful because of close cooperation between the district attorney's office and the City Water Department. The Water Depart-

ment, Michelman says, "has taken the lead in uncovering illegal dumping" and provided "the finest technical experts available in the field." Without that technical support, he adds, his work would be almost impossible.

Each conviction and sentence, Michelman says, has an importance beyond one person's punishment. "We've publicized the jail sentences [for illegal dumping] in order to warn others in the chemical and waste disposal industries: we're out there watching them."

In the coming year Congress will debate how best to reauthorize many of the country's landmark environmental laws—the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act and the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. Much of the focus will be on how to control toxic chemicals and hazardous waste and prevent them from despoiling our water and air. Corporate lobbyists will attempt to sway Congress into believing that the laws as they are now written are much too strict; environmentalists will argue that we need even more stringent standards to control these dangerous substances.

Vital as these laws are, it is important to remember that they will not in themselves solve the problems of hazardous and toxic waste disposal. What is needed, as Los Angeles City Attorney Ira Reiner so aptly put, is *the will* to enforce them.

In Philadelphia, New Jersey and Los Angeles, local prosecutors have demonstrated that will. They have shown how imaginative and creative law enforcement can send illegal dumpers to jail and serve as an effective deterrent. The key components of their programs are straightforward: aggressive training of local police and county prosecutors in detection and prosecution of toxic crimes; the cooperation of different agencies in pooling information and resources, creating strike forces; the creative use of traditional criminal laws to prosecute hazardous waste dumpers; and convicting and sentencing to jail the corporate officers—not just the little fish—who are responsible.

Yet sending corporation presidents guilty of toxic dumping to jail will not necessarily solve the problem, either. What is needed is a bold and imaginative federal program that will reduce the quantity of wastes being produced and create financial incentives for corporations to participate.

Clearly, under the Reagan administration, that kind of leadership does not exist. In its absence, though, "the slam of the jail door" is a strong and effective way to halt illegal dumping. ■

Richard Asinof is editor of Environmental Action magazine, where a version of this story first appeared.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO, IL

February 23

Frances Fox Piven, author of *The New Class War and Regulating the Poor*, former leader, National Welfare Rights Organization, and spokesperson for national voter registration drive, will speak on "A Movement Strategy for the '84 Elections." At Cross Currents (second floor), 3206 N. Wilton, at 7:30 p.m. Free childcare. \$2 donation requested. Sponsored by DSA. Reception will follow.

March 1

PSR Chicago's March Chapter meeting will be on "Public Speaking for PSR: Beyond the Medical Model." It will be held Thursday, March 1, at 6:30 p.m. in the AB Dick Auditorium at Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison. Everyone is welcome and urged to participate in this lively discussion.

PORTLAND, OR

March 1

Film "America—from Hitler to MX," showing one day only. Award-winning feature documentary, called "the most powerful antinuclear documentary yet produced" (*Time Out*, London). Cinema 21, 616 N.W. 21st Ave. Shows: Thursday, March 1, 7:00 & 9:00 p.m. Tickets: \$3.00. Phone: 223-4722. Distributed for sales and rentals by Parallel Films, 314 W. 91st St., New York, NY 10024 (212) 580-3888.

Malcolm

Continued from page 24

few weeks to hear what the changes would be and it could never get nailed down...."

Tired of waiting, Chess began to shop around. Tom Silverman, founder and president of Tommy Boy Records, "was first on my list and he wanted it immediately, so I didn't really shop any further, although I was prepared to.... They heard the record, I think it was on a Thursday, and on Monday we made a deal." The record was released 10 days later.

But unknown to Chess and Silverman, Sugarhill released a virtually identical version of the record on their heels. According to the court deposition of company president Joe Robinson, it was actually made from "a record disk from Tommy Boy Records." Sugarhill's version did not credit Keith LeBlanc or Marshall Chess. It listed only the Sugarhill All Stars, defined in Robinson's testimony as "everybody that's at Sugarhill."

Tommy Boy immediately began preparing to battle Sugarhill's release of *No Sell Out*. But Sugarhill filed for a temporary restraining order preventing Tommy Boy from distributing its version. Chess says the Robinsons were outraged

he had taken his master to a rival. "They had a temper tantrum," he said. "They were on their way to dinner in their Rolls Royce and they heard it on the radio. They flipped. The next day they served the papers." Joe Robinson refuses to talk about *No Sell Out*. According to the woman who answers the phone at Sugarhill: "He said he has no comments about it. 'They stole it and that's it.'"

It was left to the courts to decide who had stolen what. Tommy Boy, not known for producing "message" music, made an unprecedented political commitment to *No Sell Out*. "We had this battery of lawyers," says legal counsel Rick Dutka. "It looked like an anti-trust suit." Presiding Judge Herbert Stern turned out to be a lucky roll of the dice for Tommy Boy. Involved in the investigation that eventually deposed former CBS Records President Clive Davis in the mid-'70s, the judge already knew something about the music business. More important, he had been the Assistant District Attorney in the Grand Jury investigation of Malcolm X's killing, where he had met Betty Shabazz.

Although Shabazz never had to give a deposition, she was present in the courtroom, throwing her weight behind Keith LeBlanc and, by implication, Tommy Boy Records. "It's like Malcolm said," she explains, paraphrasing her late husband, "it has nothing to do with color. It has to do with behavior and character.

...I support Tommy Boy because of behavior and character."

The case was quickly settled out of court. Tommy Boy won exclusive rights to *No Sell Out*; Sugarhill is to be paid a "nominal" sliding-scale royalty.

But the record's problems are far from over. *No Sell Out* had begun to break in major markets like Cleveland (WZAK), Miami (WEDR), Memphis (WHRK) and Los Angeles (KDAY) but since the legal confusion, its airplay has been cut down by black radio stations' divided loyalties. Chess alleges that he has "heard from people around the country that Sugarhill is going on a heavy anti-Malcolm X record campaign: Don't play it."

Bert Coleman, the national promotion director for Tommy Boy and the company's only black employee, corroborates Chess' story, but he feels the opposition is dying down. "I was told by a couple of stations, 'Yeah, I talked to Joe [Robinson],' and he points to two significant East coast stations. But one has since added the record and Coleman expects the other to follow.

"The problem was not only Sugarhill and Tommy Boy," Coleman says. "As soon as you say the name Malcolm X, everyone all of a sudden conjures up negative connotations. They think of rioting, looting in the streets." That's the image *No Sell Out* has been trying to counter. "I basically tried to put together a message that would get to anybody—whether

IN THESE TIMES FEB. 22-28, 1984 23 they were white or black and whether they knew about Malcolm X or not," says LeBlanc. To get the message across, the label is packaging the record as a 12-inch with Malcolm X's picture on the cover and the lyrics on the back.

Coleman's impatience with the obstacles *No Sell Out* has faced comes from his belief "that the timing of this record is perfect. You have Jesse Jackson running for president. Philadelphia just inaugurated a black mayor—they just added the record there. The political climate is perfect."

With sales at around 20,000, Coleman admits: "It's slow." But, he adds optimistically, "we're looking at the record like a brand new record." And the hold-outs may come around. "Chicago looks like it's turning around a little bit," he says. "There is a Malcolm X College there. They have a radio station and they've been plugging the record quite extensively. Sales are happening." Chicago commercial station WBMX added *No Sell Out* last week.

But one of Malcolm's lines on the record may offer the best perspective on the situation: "We don't care who likes it or not as long as we know it's the truth." ■ *Reebee Garofalo is the co-author of Rock 'n' Roll Is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry and an associate professor at the College of Public and Community Service, University of Massachusetts, Boston.*

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malcolm X, one of the most important political figures of the century, was also one of the most misrepresented. A one-time hustler turned militant Black Muslim, his political evolution was halted by an assassin in 1965.

"They take one little word of what you say," he once observed, "ignore the rest and then begin to magnify it all over the world until you look like what you actually aren't." So the legal troubles encountered by an unusual record about his politics, *No Sell Out*, seem somehow perversely fitting.

No Sell Out is a rap treatment of recordings of Malcolm X speeches. Rap—dance music that normally features rapid-fire street poetry performed over complex percussion tracks—fits the cadence of Malcolm X's speech. Its roots are in the ghetto communities of the South Bronx and of Harlem, the home base of Malcolm's political achievements.

Officially released by New York-based Tommy Boy Records last November 11, the record ended up in court less than a week after it hit the streets.

The composition owes its existence to a 29-year-old white percussionist named Keith LeBlanc. As the drummer for the Sugarhill Gang—on black-owned, independent rap label Sugarhill Records—LeBlanc was well-known in the New York dance music scene.

LeBlanc, who describes himself as apolitical, doesn't quite know how or why he got turned on to Malcolm X. "That's a good question," he muses. "I guess maybe the situation I've been in for about four years now, being the only white guy in an all-black company or at all-black concerts playing drums.... Maybe that had something to do with it." He was especially interested in Malcolm X's visits to Mecca, which radically altered his political analysis. Still an unwavering advocate of black liberation, he came to see whites organizing in black communities as a basis for multi-racial unity.

LeBlanc spent months poring over four and a half hours of recordings of Malcolm X's speeches trying to find the right combination of phrases that would "capture the feeling that he had...after he had made the trip to Mecca." He then set about composing and computerizing a related series of syncopated drum tracks at Sugarhill's 24-track studio. The result is a carefully crafted montage of Malcolm's speech laid over a mechanically precise track of crisp, staccato percussion licks. "I wanted a feeling on the record that would grab your ear," remembers LeBlanc, "where it would be something you had to listen to around the vocal."

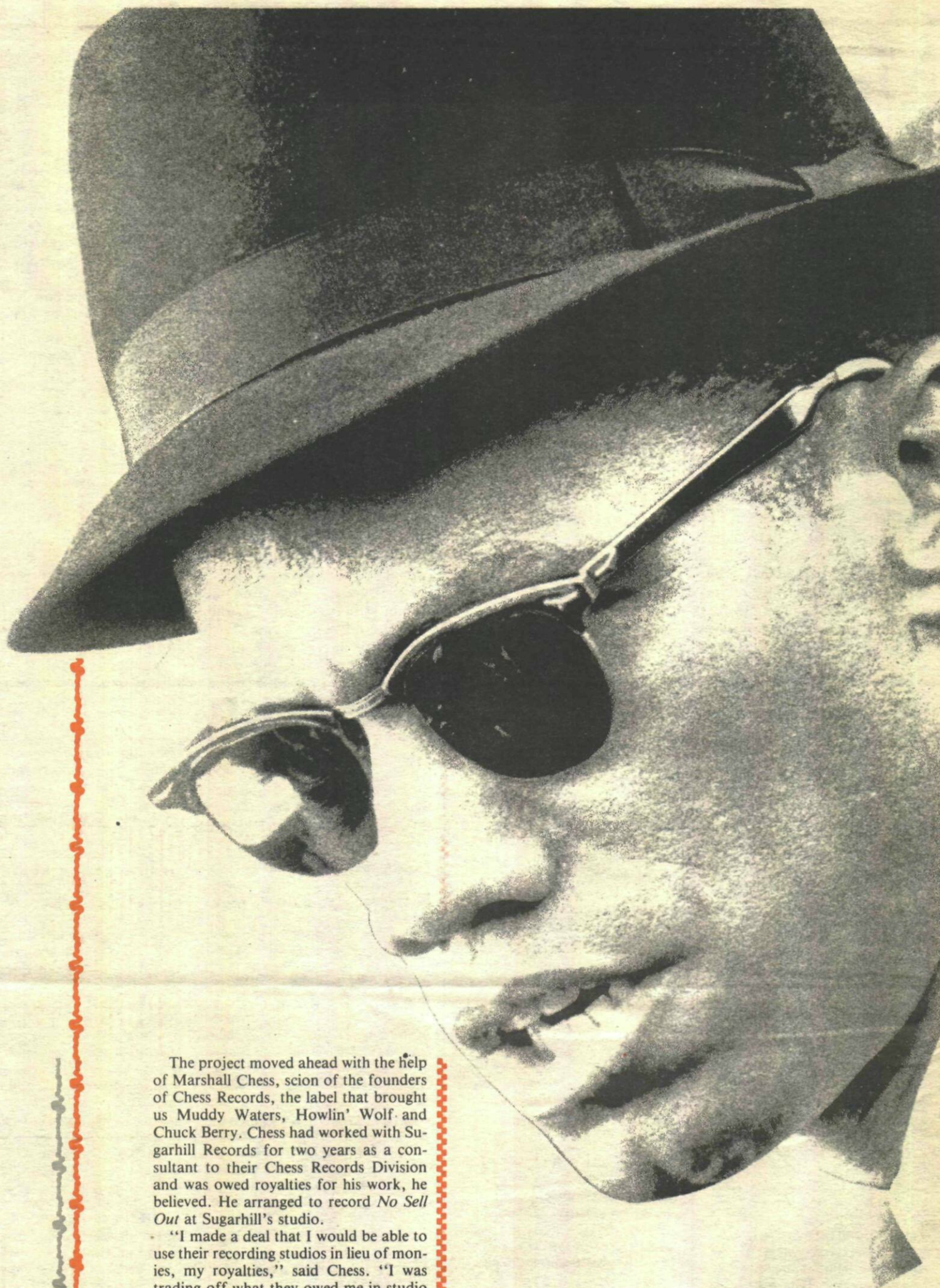
He also had a personal concern with the integrity of Malcolm X's image. "I was trying to give him some good press that he never got," states LeBlanc. "You know, a non-distorted view of his feelings after he got back from Mecca. I was very afraid of a bad representation. I didn't want to do anything negative with it." He decided not to proceed with the record unless he could get an endorsement from Malcolm X's widow, Dr. Betty Shabazz. "His family was so important to him that I figured that was the only place to go with it."

LeBlanc set up an appointment to see Shabazz at her office and arrived tape in hand. "I was really scared," he recalls. "I didn't know how she'd take me. I didn't know how she'd take the record. I told her I'd taken a long time with it and she said: 'Well, I don't care how long you took with it; it's my life you're talking about.'"

Betty Shabazz also remembers the uneasiness of the first moments of their meeting. "I was hostile when he first came in," she says, "because of what people had done to me in the past."

LeBlanc says Shabazz "wanted to hear the tape but she didn't want to hear it in front of anybody. She wanted to hear it in private."

Shabazz took the tape home with her, but she couldn't bring herself to listen to it for four days. However, "I finally got my nerve up," she remembers somewhat triumphantly. "I liked it. I liked the passages he selected." Shabazz quickly got back to LeBlanc. "I called his parents and commended them," she says. "I told them that their son was an artist." LeBlanc reciprocated by arranging to share his royalties with Shabazz.



The project moved ahead with the help of Marshall Chess, scion of the founders of Chess Records, the label that brought us Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf and Chuck Berry. Chess had worked with Sugarhill Records for two years as a consultant to their Chess Records Division and was owed royalties for his work, he believed. He arranged to record *No Sell Out* at Sugarhill's studio.

"I made a deal that I would be able to use their recording studios in lieu of monies, my royalties," said Chess. "I was trading off what they owed me in studio time." *No Sell Out* was recorded for his production company, Marshall Chess Music, Inc., an independent production company with no ties to Sugarhill. Acting as executive producer, it was Chess' job to sell the master.

Sugarhill Records would have been the obvious choice for the record, since it is the most widely known rap label, and is black-owned. Also, both Marshall Chess and Keith LeBlanc had been associated with the company, and the record was recorded at their studios. In the mid-'70s, a former incarnation of Sugarhill Records, All Platinum, had released a five-record set of Malcolm X's speeches entitled *The Best of Malcolm X*. But Chess never made a deal with Sugarhill.

"I discussed it with Sugarhill. They're the first people I played it for," says Chess. "They loved it. They thought it was a hit. But they wanted to make some changes in it and I waited around for a

Continued on page 23

by REEBEE GAROFALO

MALCOLM'S MESSAGE